

Bulky Exhibit - Inventory of Property Acquired as Evidence
FD-192 (Rev. 12-5-58)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CMW

Date

☐ Check, when submitting semiannual inventory, if no previous correspondence with Bureau.

Bufile		Field Division PG	
Title and Character of Case [redacted] IS - C		b7D	
Date Property Acquired 3/1/52	Source From Which Property Acquired [redacted] b7D		
Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit Bulky Room		Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same Evidence	
Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same			

THIS WAS TRANSFERRED FROM 1A-8

b7D

(Photos of 3 handwritten and 1 typed list of names taken by [redacted] from CP Hdqrs. in 1942 and not identifiable with any organizations for General Intelligence value)

(see 67-2181-302 (134-14A), 134-14-86 for explanation)

Originals returned to [redacted] at his request. - HSM

*Destroyed
4/10/75*

Field File # 134-14A-1B(1)

134-14A-1B(1)

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 13 1962	
FBI - PITTSBURGH	

[Signature]

7. Notes (+ photographic) copied
thereof) from [redacted]
and Andrew Onda - C.P. Contacts.

9-13 51

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b7D

Continued.

34-14A-1A

Original block stamp
dated 10/9/52

see sub

5.

b6
b7C
b7D

List of names and addresses received on September 13,
1951 from [] and [] by SA HOWARD S MEYERJACK and photographed
by [] on 9-20-51

[] and [] stated they received this list from
[] South Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. CP leader, who said that
these were her notes and the notes of ANDY ONDA and consisted of
people to whom the CP sent newsletters and information they wished
to publicize. [] and [] stated that most of those on the list,
according to [] had contributed money to the CP and
done work for the CP. [] and [] stated that they were unable
to indicate who these individuals were.

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[] and [] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

134-14A-1A(7)

~~67-2181-1A(7)~~

(original notes in attached envelope)

X
✓
9
SOUTH SIDE - Mt. Washington - 11

b6
b7C



~~20/21/60~~



7/12/60

8/24/60

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

X
SOUTH SIDE - JSL - 3

9

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] 1/15/51

[REDACTED] 1/22/51

[REDACTED] 1/15/51

[REDACTED] 7/20/50

[REDACTED] 8/3/50

[REDACTED] 11/25/50

[REDACTED] 8/5/50

[REDACTED] 2/23/50

[REDACTED] 12/18/50

[REDACTED] 5/4/50

[REDACTED] 3/5/51

[REDACTED] 12/23/50

[REDACTED] 1/15/51

[REDACTED] 1/15/51

[REDACTED] 2/5/51

[REDACTED] 1/15/51

[REDACTED] 2/23/50

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
by SA HOWARD S.
HETTERJACK.

SOUTH SIDE - Mr. Oliver - 10

b6
b7C

9

[REDACTED] 7/12/60
[REDACTED] 3/25/51
[REDACTED] 4/8/60
[REDACTED] 3/3/60
[REDACTED] 2/12/60
[REDACTED] 8/12/60
[REDACTED] 8/22/60
[REDACTED] ~~3/25/60~~
[REDACTED] 7/12/60
[REDACTED] 3/5/60
[REDACTED] 1/15/60
[REDACTED] 1/15/61
[REDACTED] 2/12/60
[REDACTED] 7/26/60
[REDACTED] ~~1/15/61~~

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
by SA HOWARD S.
NEVERBACK.

SOUTH SIDE - Chapter - 8

9

4/8/50

4/26/81

b7D
Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[redacted] and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MATTERACK.

X
9
SOUTH SIDE - Corlies - 4

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] 7/4/50
[REDACTED] 7/4/50
[REDACTED] 7/12/50

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

X
SOUTH SIDE - South Hills- 16

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] 2/15/61

[REDACTED] 1/13/61

[REDACTED] 7/20/60

[REDACTED] 2/5/61

[REDACTED] 3/13/61

[REDACTED] 1/15/61

[REDACTED] 3/5/60

[REDACTED] 5/13/61

[REDACTED] 1/15/61

Brookline

[REDACTED] 5/4/60

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

X

9

SOUTH SIDE - Brentwood - 27

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 4/9/49

[REDACTED] ~~7/13/50~~

[REDACTED] 2/8/61

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]
by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

b6
b7C

b7D

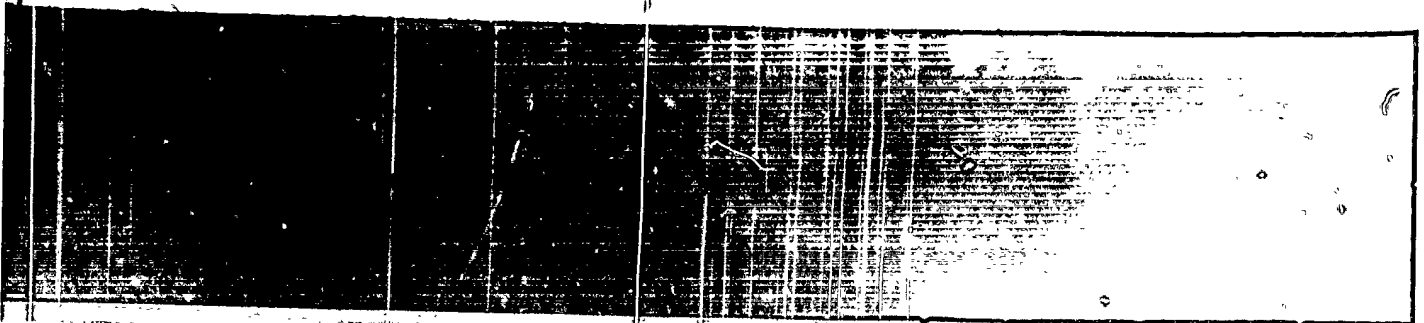
on Sept 13, 1951 from
by SA HOWARD S.

b6
b7C



McKee

IT



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Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and by SA HOWARD S.
METERJACK.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
July 8-1948
Vandegrift Pa

Dear Brother.

Please send me full text
of [REDACTED] statement.

I am a member LO-1346.
Vandegrift Pa. I recd

[REDACTED] letter to

[REDACTED] I would

like to have full text of
[REDACTED] statement. to let

some of these brother read
hear. Yours Truly

[REDACTED]

b7D

RECEIVED ON Sept 13, 1951 From
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

Dist #15

Cards, make out

b6
b7C

Local 1219

Braddock, Pa.

Local 1575

Braddock, Pa.

Local 3018

Return

Clairton, Pa.

Local 1263

Rankin, Pa.

Local 1557

Clairton, Pa.

Local 3033

Duquesne, Pa.

Local 1256

Duquesne, Pa.

Local 1589

Rankin, Pa.

Local 3040

North Braddock, Pa.

Local 1397

Munhall, Pa.

Local 1913

Homestead, Pa.

Local 3063

Pittsburgh 7, Pa.

Local 1493

Braddock, Pa.

Local 2227

Clairton, Pa.

Local 3055

Clairton, Pa.

Local 1494

Rankin, Pa.

Local 2344

Wilkesburg, Pa.

Local 3255

Braddock, Pa.

Local 1506

N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local 2466

Duquesne, Pa.

Local 3441

Gibsonia, Pa.

Local 1507

Munhall, Pa.

Local 2671

Rankin, Pa.

Local 1535

New Eagle, Pa.

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and by SA HOWARD S.
MYERJACK.

Local 2500

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 2300

Allentown, Pa.

Local 1900

Bethlehem, Pa.

DuBoistown, Pa.

Local 2500

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 2598

Secretary

218 East 3rd St.

Bethlehem, Pa.

Brill's Auto Local

Philadelphia, Pa.

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 3100

Morensport, Pa.

Duquesne, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local 1876 - Crucible

3405 Penn Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local 1201

1701 Beaver Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

American Chain Local 1539

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

Am. S & W Local 2671

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

Bethlehem-Rankin Local 1494

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

C-I Braddock Local 1210

1222 Braddock Ave.

Braddock, Pa.

Carrie Furnace Local 1253

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

C-I Munhall Local 1397

502 East 8th Ave.

Homestead, Pa.

Heppner Local 1601

118 45th St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

J & L Local 1843

4529 Second Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

J & L Local 1272

2716 Sarah St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Oliver Iron & Steel Local 1756

36 South 11th St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

b6
b7C

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and by SA HOWARD S.
METERJACK.

✓ Pressed Steel Local 1844
George St.
McKees Rocks, Pa. *Pres.*

✓ Schoon Wheel Local 1924
George St.
McKees Rocks, Pa. *Pres.*

✓ Sterling Steel Local 1575
231 Second Ave.
Rankin, Pa.

✓ Union Steel Local 1305
115 57th St.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[] and [] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

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b6
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Received on Sept. 13, 1951 from
and [redacted]
MEYERJACK, by SA HOWARD S.

b6
b7C

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

Interviewed Sept 13, 1951 from [redacted] and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S. NEVERBACK.

J&L
"
"
"
"
"
"
"
"

CP-PP

J&L

CP, PP

J&L

J&L

OLIVER

CP-PP

J&L

CP-PP

b7D

and [redacted] on Sept 13, 1951 from
[redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

J&L

"

OLIVER IRON & STEEL

J&L

"

"

CP-PP

b6

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

b7C

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CMW

J&L
"

PA.

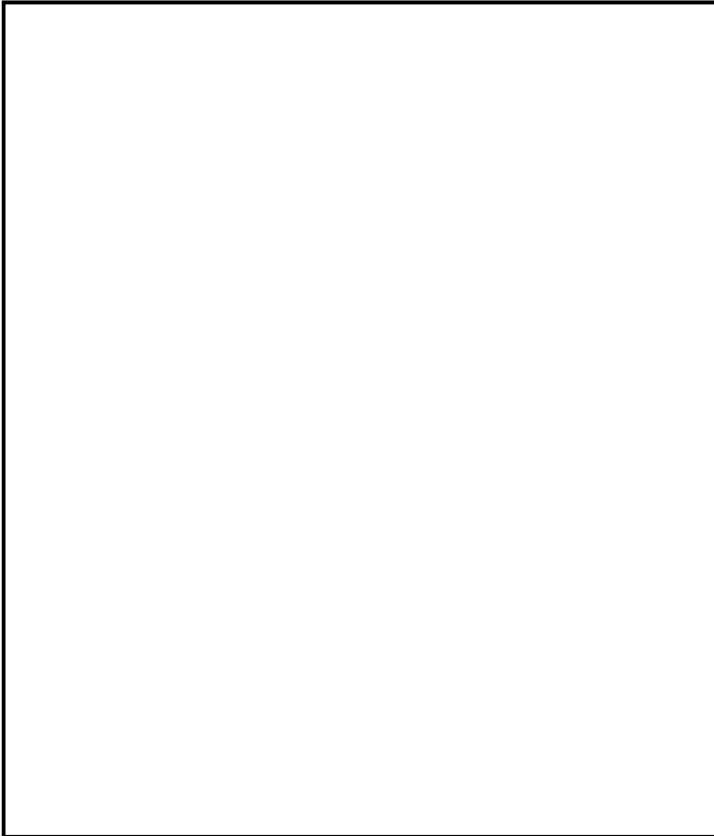
CP. PP

J&L

b7D

RECEIVED on Sept 13, 1951 from
and
MEYERJACK.
by SA HOWARD S.

b6
b7C



C&L
"
"
C&L
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CP-PP
CP-PP

b7D

REPRODUCTION OF
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT
BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
SERIALS ACQUISITION
DIVISION
1

b7D

A scan of a document page. On the left side, there is a large, empty rectangular box, likely a redaction. The right side of the page contains handwritten text in dark ink. The text is organized into several lines, some of which are crossed out with a diagonal line. The visible text includes: "12 to 13 P", "referred to", "file 10", "large 10", "Dawson", "visions", "was referred in", "+ in 6", and "Kills (Killing)". At the bottom right, there is a signature that reads "Prog. Party". The handwriting is somewhat cursive and the ink is dark.

b6
b7C

October 21, 1948
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear

Please forward to Andy :

Partial List of Steel Lodges - *Contacts*

b6
b7C

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and
by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERLACK.

b6
b7C

[redacted] local 2599 ✓
Bethlehem Pa
[redacted] #2600
[redacted]
Allentown *Financial Secty*
[redacted] #2600
Beth. Pa
[redacted]
Danboistown Pa

[redacted] 2599- Secty
[redacted]
Bethlehem
Secty - 2598
218 East 3rd St.
Bethlehem
Secty - Brill's Auto Local
[redacted]
Philan Pay
[redacted]
Bethlehem Pa
(1)

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b7D

b6
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10 ✓

[redacted] Duluth ...
[redacted] Duluth,
[redacted] Embarrass, Minn.
[redacted] ~~Nashua, Minn.~~
[redacted] Crosby, Minn.
[redacted] Minneapolis, Minn.

I will have the \$10 sent to you the next few

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[redacted] and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
LEVERJACK.

b6
b7C

b7D

Repealed on Sept 13, 1951 from
and
NEVERBACK.
by SA HOWARD S.

(5)
[Redacted]

Cleveland,

[Redacted]

Garfield Hpts. Clk.

8 [Redacted]

Cleveland Ohio

9 [Redacted]

Cleveland

10 [Redacted]

Cleveland

b6
b7C

6

b6
b7C

b7D

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
and by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

Room 546

Boston 15
Mand.

Rank & File, Stale
9 Workers — ✓

1 [redacted]
Cleveland, Ohio

2 [redacted]
Cleveland, Ohio

3 [redacted]
Cleveland, Ohio

4 [redacted]
Cleveland, Ohio

5 [redacted]
Cleveland, Ohio

Received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[redacted] and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

b7D

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DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CNW

(6)



b6
b7C

*San Francisco, 2,
California.*

Room 701

(4)



b6
b7C

*Detroit, 26
Michigan*

b7D

received on Sept 13, 1951 from
[redacted] and [redacted] by SA HOWARD S.
MEYERJACK.

(6)

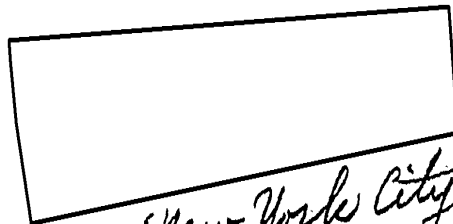
b6
b7C



*Baltimore,
Maryland.*

(6)

b6
b7C



*New York City
New York*

Date Received Sept 13, 1951

From
(Name of contributor)

b6
b7C
b7D

(Address of contributor)

By SA Howard S. Meyerjack
(Name of Special Agent)

To Be Returned Yes ()
No (x)

Description:
Notes of + Andrew Onda
CP CONTACTS

File No. ~~67-2187-1A(7)~~ EXHIBIT SECTION
(Photographic Copies Attached)

134-14A-1A(7)

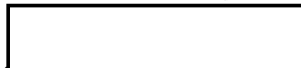
Dist #15

Cards made out b6
b7C

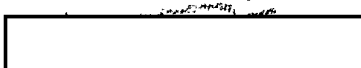
Local 1219

✓ 
Braddock, Pa.

Local 1575

✓ 
Braddock, Pa.

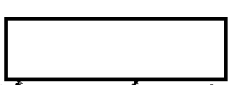
Local 3018

Return
✓ 
Clairton, Pa.

Local 1253

✓ 
Rankin, Pa.

Local 1557

✓ 
Clairton, Pa.

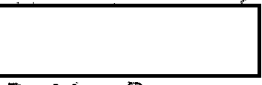
Local 3033

✓ 
Duquesne, Pa.

Local 1256

✓ 
Duquesne, Pa.

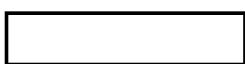
Local 1589

✓ 
Rankin, Pa.

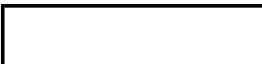
Local 3040

✓ 
North Braddock, Pa.

Local 1397


Munhall, Pa.

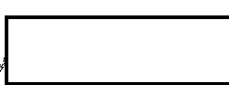
Local 1913

✓ 
Homestead, Pa.

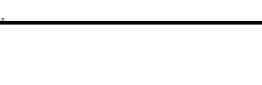
Local 3063

✓ 
Pittsburgh 7, Pa.

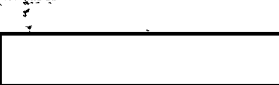
Local 1493

✓ 
Braddock, Pa.

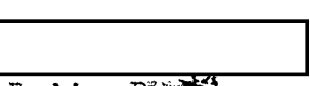
Local 2227

✓ 
Clairton, Pa.

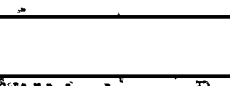
Local 3065

✓ 
Clairton, Pa.

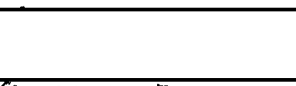
Local 1494

✓ 
Rankin, Pa.

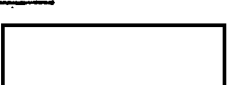
Local 2344

✓ 
Wilkinsburg, Pa.

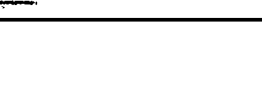
Local 3253

✓ 
Braddock, Pa.

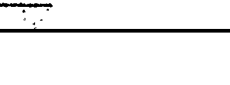
Local 1506

✓ 
N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.

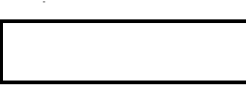
Local 2466

✓ 
Duquesne, Pa.

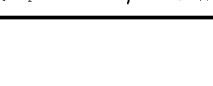
Local 3441

✓ 
Gibsonia, Pa.

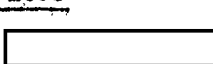
Local 1507

✓ 
Munhall, Pa.

Local 2671

✓ 
Rankin, Pa.

Local 1535

✓ 
New Eagle, Pa.

Local 2399

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 2600

Allentown, Pa.

Local 2600

Bethlehem, Pa.

DuBoistown, Pa.

Local 2599

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 2598

Secretary
218 East 3rd St.
Bethlehem, Pa.

Brill's Auto Local

Philadelphia, Pa.

Bethlehem, Pa.

Local 3122

Leesport, Pa.

Duquesno, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local 1276 - Gracette

31-03 Penn Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local 1276 - Gracette

1203 Beaver Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

American Chain Local 1539

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

Arm. S. & W Local 2371

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

Bethlehem-Rankin Local 1494

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

C-I Braddock Local 1219

1222 Braddock Ave.,

Braddock, Pa.

Carrie Furnace Local 1253

231 Second Ave.

Rankin, Pa.

C-I Lunhall Local 1397

502 East 8th Ave.

Monroeville, Pa.

Edison Local 1601

118 45th St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

J & L Local 1843

4829 Second Ave.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

J & L Local 1272

2716 Sarah St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Oliver Iron & Steel Local 1755

36 South 11th St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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b6

b7C

Haywood St.

Pres

3) if an act resolves alone - it is
on basis of own power & that will
then - establish the principle
which at least part of base is
the Bill Book
on basis - the
to the
to the

Pressed Steel Local 1844
George St.
McKees Rocks, Pa. *Pres.*

✓ Schoen Wheel Local 1924
George St. *Pres.*
McKees Rocks, Pa.

Sterling Steel Local 1575
✓ 231 Second Ave.
Rankin, Pa.

✓ Union Steel Local 1305
115 57th St.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CNW

b6

b7C

↓
④

Local 1306, USA.

Glasport Pa.

X

9

SOUTH SIDE - Mt. Washington - 11

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

~~10/23/50~~

[REDACTED]

7/12/50

[REDACTED]

4/24/50

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CMW

X

9

SOUTH SIDE - J&L - 75

b6
b7C

[redacted]
~~2 South Side St.~~ 1/18/51

[redacted]

1/22/51

[redacted] 1/15/51

[redacted] 7/23/50

[redacted] 6/3/50

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/25/50

[redacted] 8/5/50

[redacted] 2/25/50

[redacted] 12/16/50

[redacted] 3/4/50

[redacted] 3/5/51

[redacted] 12/23/50

[redacted] 1/15/51

[redacted] 11/15/51

[redacted] 2/5/51

[redacted] 1/15/51

[redacted] 12/23/50

X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-27-2010 BY 60324UCBAW/DK/CMW

9

SOUTH SIDE - Mt. Oliver - 10

[REDACTED]

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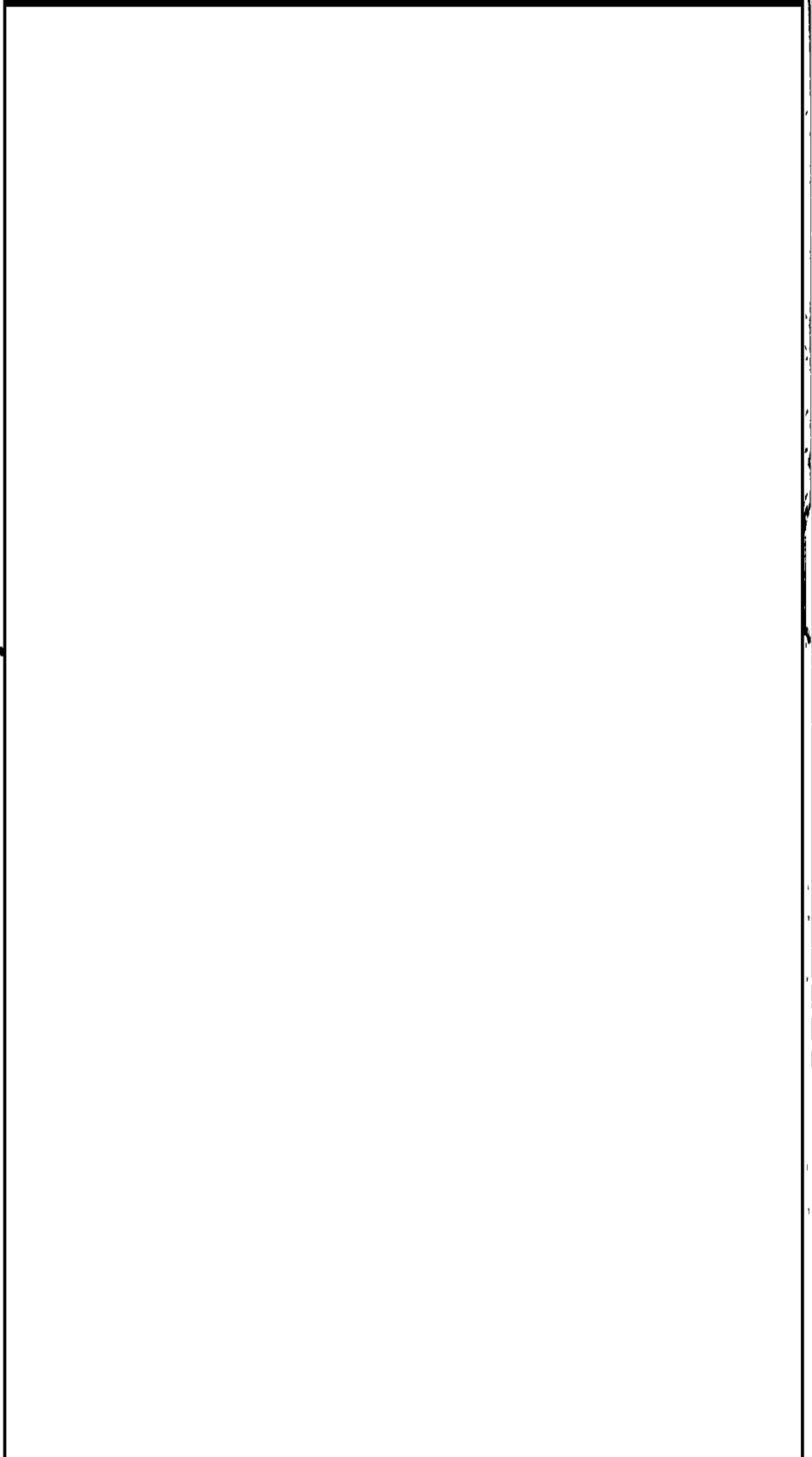
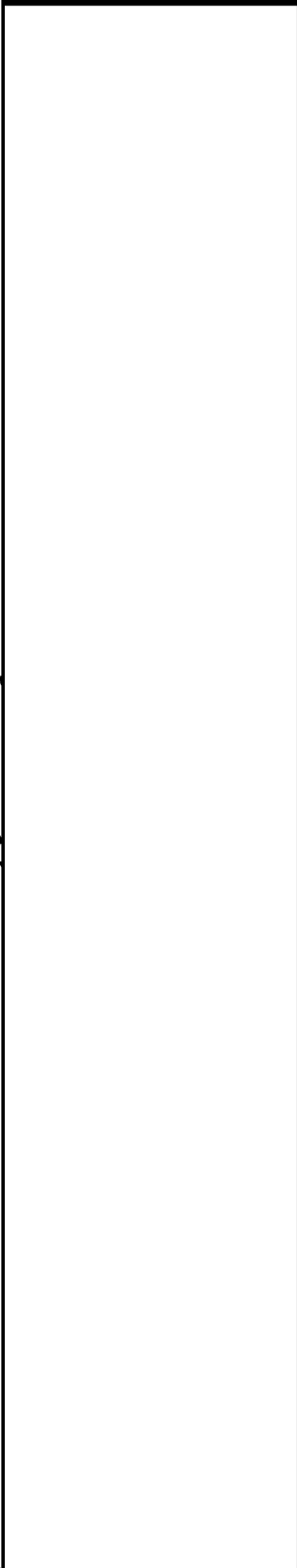
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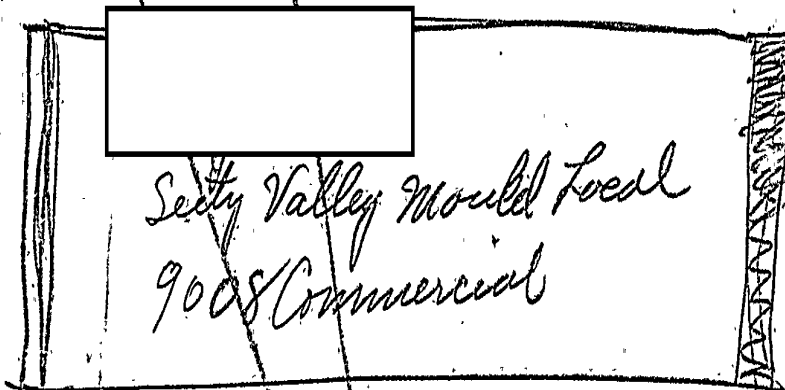


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Cleveland, Ohio



Cleveland, Ohio



Cleveland, Ohio

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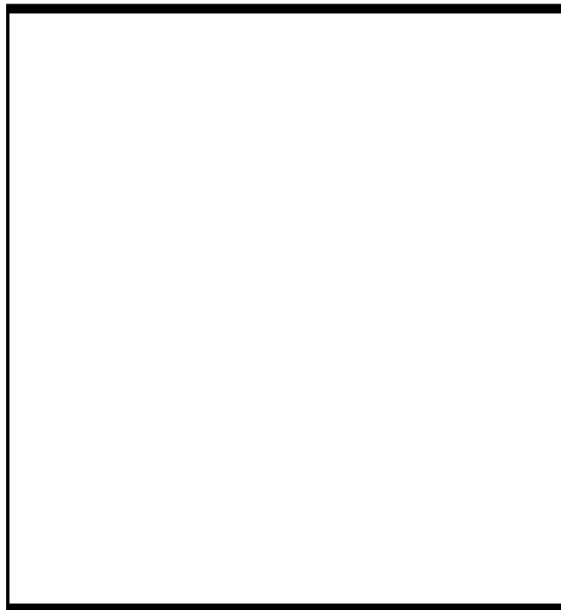
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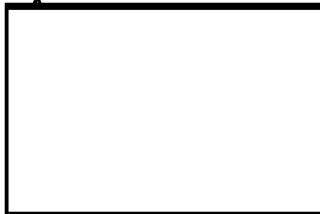
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Vandegrift Pa

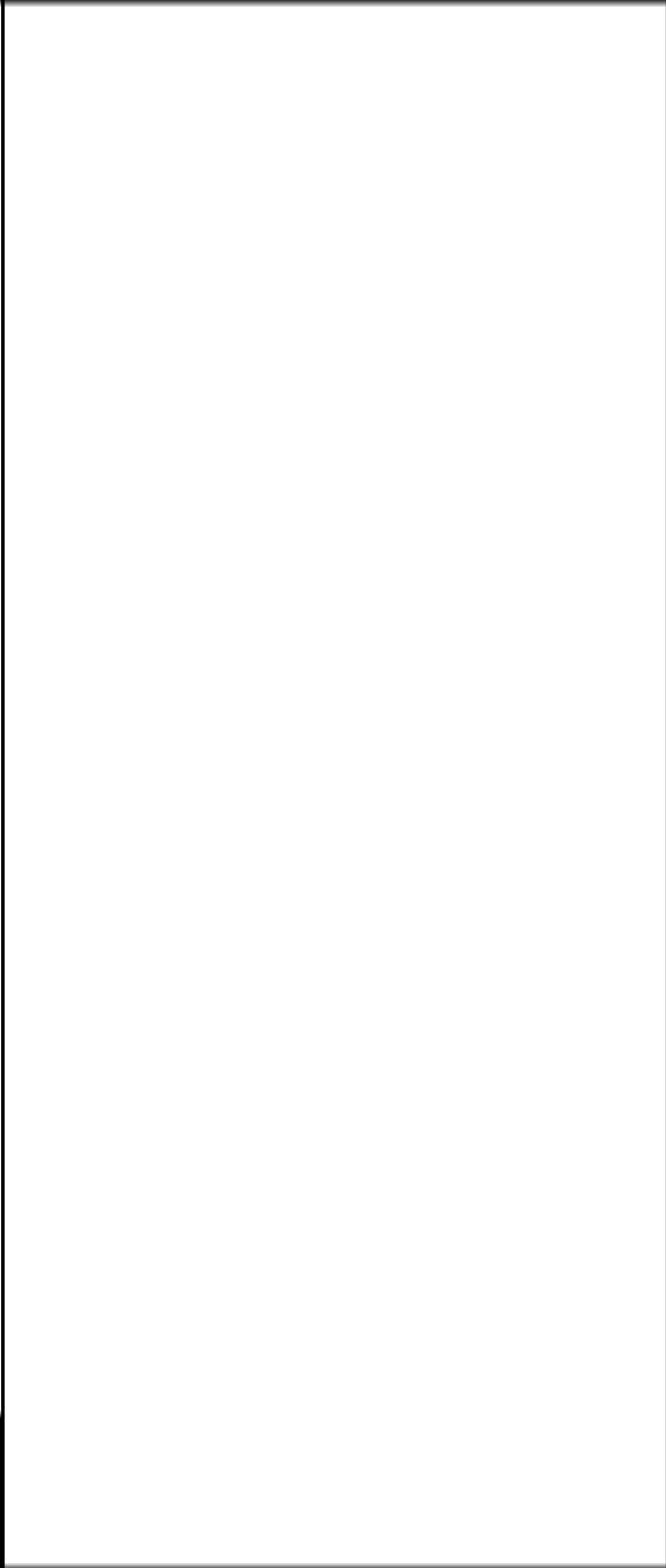
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Dear Bro

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Please send me full text
of Migas statement.

I am a member LO-1346.
Vandegrift Pa. I recd
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Philip Murray. I would
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Migas statement. to let
some of these brother read
hear. Yours Truly



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See 67-2134-501
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News 10-10-52.
10. August 1952 issue "March
of Labor" 10-10-52.
11. 2 copies of 1952 CP Election
Platform 10-21-52.
12. Pamphlet "Pettis Perry Speaks
to the Court" 11-6-52.
13. "Don Valon in Battle" by
Joseph North 11-6-52.

Indexed

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(Address of contributor)

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Pittsburgh People Rally To Fight Witchhunt Attack



THE NELSON FAMILY: ~~Loyally, they stay in the fight against a vicious 20-year sentence imposed by Pittsburgh's Big Business-controlled courts.~~

P'gh Smith Act Frameups Part of Nation-wide Police State Drive

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Pittsburgh Witchhunt, like one tentacle of an octopus, links up with a nationwide attack on the liberty of everyone. The infamous Smith Act is the way the government ties it all into one big witchhunt.

In Pittsburgh six men face prosecution under this act. They are Steve Nelson, Andrew Onda, James Dolsen, all previously framed on "sedition" charges, plus Benjamin

Careathers, prominent Negro labor leader, William Albertson and Irving Weissman. But elsewhere in the nation 30 American men and women, Negro and white, union leaders, housewives, workers, professionals, are standing trial of just finished trial under provisions of this Smith Act.

What crime are all these people accused of? Not committing acts of force or violence to overthrow the government. Nothing like that has ever been charged, even in the frameup conviction of 11 Communist Party leaders last year. No, these people are charged with conspiring to advocate ideas.

The roll call of prosecutions: 6 in Pittsburgh, 16 in New York, 14 in Los Angeles, 6 in Baltimore and 7 in Hawaii. If they were not so dangerous, these indictments would be laughably absurd. In New York people were accused of such "overt" acts as leaving a building or mailing a letter. Pittsburgh leaders were accused of such "crimes" as attending a meeting.

Ridiculous? But 17 men and women have already been convicted of such "crimes." The Justice Department plans some 21,000 other prosecutions, also

under the Smith Act. What is this infamous piece of legislation?

In 1939 and '40, during a wave of anti-alien, anti-labor hysteria in Congress, a bill (the Smith Act) titled the "Alien Registration Act" was introduced by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.), author of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

In 1948, under provisions of the Act, members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States were indicted and charged, not with any attempt to overthrow the government, but with conspiracy "to organize the Communist Party."

The National Lawyers' Guild saw these indictments as "part of an ominous pattern that has come to threaten the entire Bill of Rights." Thousands of CIO, AFL and independent union leaders charged "these frameup, indictments . . . make it still harder for labor to fight the Taft-Hartley Act, high prices and inflationary wage-cuts." Said prominent Negro attorney George W. Crockett Jr.: "This (trial) is an attempt to outlaw the party

(Continued on Page 4)

Biased Judge Gives Peace Fighter 20 Years

TWENTY YEARS! "I sentence you to 20 years in prison," said Judge Harry M. Montgomery, arrogant leader of the Americans Battling Communism group of Pittsburgh, as he took his vengeance on Steve Nelson, bold spokesman of peace in Korea, on July 10.

The judge added a \$10,000 fine plus \$13,291 "costs"—which includes \$25-\$50 per day for the stoolpigeons who framed him!

No political prisoner has ever gotten such a savage sentence in American history. It's a death sentence for a man of 50, whom the Steel Trust wants to kill.

Montgomery next denied bail while Nelson is appealing from the Steel Trust court's frame-up, in defiance of the Constitution and American tradition.

Steve Nelson—former steel worker, former Lieutenant Colonel in the heroic Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Veteran Communist leader—has begun serving his 20-year sentence in the Allegheny County Prison. This old granite jail, built 70 years ago, is a man-killing place, where prisoners' teeth rot away from bad food. The judge ruled that Nelson must spend his first 12 months in IRON CITY's old Bastille, and then go to a worse place—the Allegheny County Workhouse at Blawnox, Pa.—for the next 19 years.

Steve Nelson is now fighting from prison for bail. The fight is now before the Pennsylvania

Supreme Court. Delegations are reminding District Attorney F. Malone that all other prisoners except Steve Nelson are getting bail pending appeal. The worst gangsters from Pittsburgh's flourishing underworld are being released on bail with the consent of the District Attorney. Only Steve Nelson, uncompromising foe of the Steel Trust and champion of peace, is denied bail.

Thousands of persons have protested to Malone—at the Allegheny County Courthouse, by telephone, letter and telegram. Thousands more must do so without delay to get Nelson out of prison.

The frame-up charge is "sedition." Nelson was railroaded to prison under the State "sedition" act, which was passed in June,

(Continued on Page 4)

Anti-Labor Jim Crow Jails Four

NEW KENSINGTON, Pa.—Organized labor and the Negro people, prime targets in the Pittsburgh Witchhunt engineered by Big Steel, withstood a vicious, underhanded attack in this city near the Pittsburgh industrial area recently when a police frameup of local people set a new low, in Jim Crow, union-busting tactics.

In March, 1950, a local outfit of a New York clothing company locked out 35 members of District 65, Distributing, Processing and Office Workers. In the ensuing strike and picketline, Truitt let pickets rest in his establishment, down the block from the struck store.

A Negro picket captain, Robert T. Smith, was arrested twice. Then police provoked a fight and seized four men. Police Capt. John Bordonaro entered Truitt's apartment above his office and forcibly stopped him from phoning for an attorney.

(Continued on Page 4)

THIS IS YOUR FIGHT

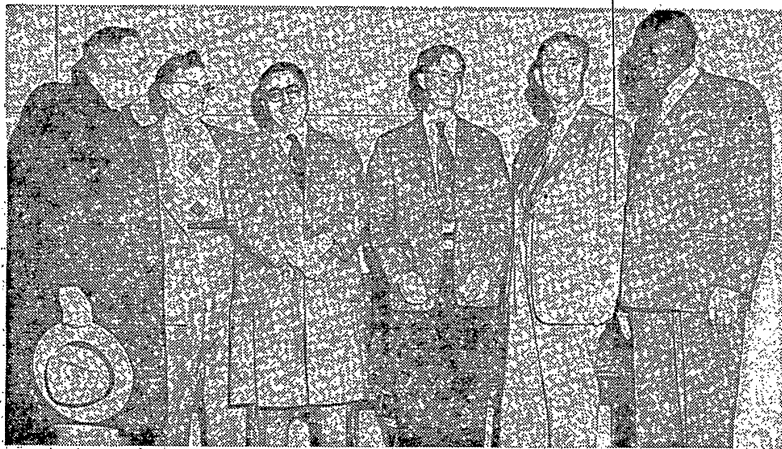
In the pages of this newspaper you will read the story, step by step, of the witchhunt which has taken over Pittsburgh.

You will read about the men and women who are being persecuted . . . and about the big corporations, their stooges in government, and an unholy gang of stoolies and labor-spies who are doing the persecuting.

This is a true story, even though most of it can't be found in the newspapers. It tells about a major American city taken over by the hirelings of Big Steel. It tells of people like you, your friends and neighbors, caught in a fascist-like witchhunt.

It tells another story, too. In these pages you will read of the magnificent defense being waged by the people against the Pittsburgh Witchhunt.

We ask you to read this story and make up your own mind. Then we ask that you take some of the actions necessary to halt the Pittsburgh Witchhunt and the government terror striking all over the country.



THE PITTSBURGH SIX: After a combined total of 75 years of help to working people are now being framed up under the Smith Thought-Control Act.

Steve Nelson

Steve Nelson, union organizer, hero of the Spanish war against fascism, has fought reaction all his life. He carries a fascist bullet scar across his jugular vein to remind him of the enemy he has devoted his life to destroying; whether in Franco's Spain or in Big Steel's Pittsburgh.

Coming here from Yugoslavia in 1920, Steve found work as a carpenter joining the AFL Carpenters' Union in 1922. Later, in the Pittsburgh region, he worked in the Budd Wheel plant and the Jones and Laughlin (Mellon) steel factories.

In the early 1930's he organized the anthracite coal workers and the unemployed, at which time he first met Ben Careathers, now co-victim of the Pittsburgh Smith Act terror.

When a conspiracy of fascist generals led by Franco plotted to overthrow by force and violence the legal government of Spain, lovers of freedom all over the world volunteered to help defend the Republic. Among these was Steve, who joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of U.S. volunteers and rose to the rank of Lt. Colonel.

With his wife Margaret and his two children, Josie and Bob, Steve has been under constant attack by hired thugs. This reign of terror began a few weeks before his "sedition" indictment, when his home was burgled. As he lay in a Philadelphia sick-bed, Mussmanno and two local cops invaded his room but when the cops saw his helpless, immobile condition, leg encased in steel traction splints, they shamefacedly withdrew.

Sent to a Pittsburgh hospital for a spinal tap exam, he was coming out of the ether when a gunman broke into his ward and held a revolver on Steve, threatening to "blow your brains out." Oddly enough the local Hearst paper had a full account of the attack in print while it was taking place. The thug claimed to be an "American Fighting Communism," referring to the hate-group which spearheaded the Pittsburgh terror.

James Dolsen

At the age of 67, James Dolsen can look back on a life devoted to unceasing struggle in behalf of the American people. A charter member of the Communist Party in California, he early learned the meaning of frameup when, seized in the infamous Palmer raids following World War I, he was brought to trial two times for his ideas.

Facing a hostile jury and, as prosecutor the same Earl Warren who later became Governor of the state, Dolsen acted as his own lawyer and twice so successfully defended himself that juries refused to convict him. A newspaperman for many years, Dolsen spent much time in China and in 1925 wrote a book which accurately predicted developments in China.

Since 1935, Dolsen has been a familiar and well-loved figure around the shops and mills of Pittsburgh. As the Daily Worker correspondent he is known for his accurate and fair reporting of struggles for unionization, against unemployment and the like.

Benjamin Careathers

When reaction's goon squads sought victims for the Pittsburgh Terror, they singled out a fighting leader of the Negro people to attack. But battling frameups in the struggle for the people's rights is nothing new to Benjamin Careathers, one of the six Pittsburgh Smith Act victims. Because he fights hard and long, he has many enemies.

Now sixty-two years old, Ben Careathers has spent most of his adult life in Pittsburgh as an outstanding and beloved leader of the Negro people, especially those segregated by Jim Crow into the Hill District. During the great steel union drive of 1936-38, he served as a staff organizer for the new CIO steel workers union, appointed by Philip Murray.

His struggles on behalf of the Negro people brought down the wrath of Big Steel on his head as early as 1932 when he led a fight to halt the eviction of a Negro widow and her five small children from an apartment in the Hill district. He was arrested with several others and

rested with several others and Wm. L. Patterson, now national head of Civil Rights Congress.

Patterson, then an attorney for the International Labor Defense, so ably defended Careathers and the rest that he won an acquittal on frameup charges of "inciting to riot." A year later Careathers first met Steve Nelson when the two men were leading delegations of unemployed workers from different parts of Pennsylvania in a demonstration. In 1940, like James Dolsen, he spent a year in jail for collecting election petition signatures.

Irving Weissman

A veteran of not one but two world wars, Irving Weissman stands in the Pittsburgh Smith Act frameups get under way. He is Irving Weissman, who fought against fascism in Spain as a member of the gallant Abraham Lincoln Brigade of American volunteers. When the growth of fascism plunged the world into war, Weissman again took up arms, this time with the U.S. Army.

Active in such dangerous battles as those at Salerno, the Anzio Beachhead and the Battle of the Bulge, Weissman was awarded six battle stars.

A former shipyard worker, Weissman became a political organizer in the West Virginia coalfields. Married, he has two young daughters. It is his record as a courageous fighter for all that is best in America that is now under attack by Big Steel's Pittsburgh terror.

William Albertson

William Albertson, Detroit people's leader who once worked in the Pittsburgh area, will also stand trial with his five fellow-victims when the government seeks to convict them of fighting for peace and freedom.

A native of Pittsburgh, Albertson first saw action on the side of justice in 1928 as a student leader at Pitt University when he was expelled for organizing a campus meeting in defense of Tom Mooney. A Mellon and a U.S. Steel director were on the school board that expelled him.

Working in Pittsburgh and later in New York, Albertson was active in the 1930's as a union organizer. He was a lead-

Sedition Law Used To Wreck Unions

Did you know you were "seditious"?

If you live in Pennsylvania, where a blanket "sedition" law has been on the books since 1919, you can be jailed for five to twenty years if you do or say anything that "tends to bring the Government into disrepute."

That's the law under which Steve Nelson, Andy Onda and James Dolsen were convicted, the latest victims of a 33-year-old law originally passed by Big Steel to help break the Great Steel Strike of 1919.

Sponsored by the Mellons; Elbert Gary of U.S. Steel and the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, the law was deliberately worded as vaguely as possible because Big Steel had to frame workers under different situations. Labor unions launched an immediate attack on the bill and well-known liberals joined the fight.

When the bill was signed by Gov. Sproul, multi-millionaire mine and shipyard owner, scores of Pennsylvania workers were arrested, part of the many thousands being witchhunted around the nation.

On Armistice Day, 1926,

er. of Local 302 of the Cafeteria Workers Union in New York during this time. With his wife, Francine, and his two sons, he was working in Detroit when seized by the government as part of its Pittsburgh Smith Act terror.

Andrew Onda

When Big Steel's terror attacks a community, no one is safe, neither the young nor the old, the healthy or the ill. Andy Onda, suffering from a dangerous heart condition, knows this better than most. He knows that the fury of the Pittsburgh frameup can reach Dachau-like extremes of brutality. He himself suffered many weeks in jail, held without bond, kept on miserable flop-house food when prison doctors knew he had to have a special vitamin-high diet. This was after he collapsed several times during the course of his 10-month-long trial.

The son of Slovak immigrants and steel workers, Andy Onda worked most of his youth in the Jones & Laughlin (Mellon) mills on Pittsburgh's south side. Later he moved to the far West, where he worked as a hard-rock miner. During the Great Depression, he saw duty in Ohio as a leader of thousands of unemployed workers.

In that state and in Connecticut he ran for public office on the Communist Party ticket, polling surprisingly large votes. In Ohio he missed election by just a few votes.



ANDY ONDA: He's known wherever steel is made... in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Youngstown... countless workers know and respect him.

police paid by Mellon's Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. raided private homes in Aliquippa and arrested 11 workers who were discussing the building of a union.

Steve Nelson, who had worked at J & L then, recalls that before a union had been organized jobs were sold through employment sharks who charged fees, a pool of unemployed workers competed for a low-paying job, the speed-up at the plant made accidents an everyday affair and most workers were kept in debt to company grocery stores.

Although most of the 11 were freed, three men went to jail for five years and one of them died in prison. But the progressive and labor movement was on the march in Pennsylvania. By the late 1920's the people's protests against the sedition law grew so strong that it was quietly "shelved," not to be used for 20 years, until Judge Michael Musmanno needed publicity in his campaign for the lieutenant-governorship. Thus began the new wave of Pittsburgh "sedition" frameups.

Foreign-Born Face Terror

Like many other industrial areas, Pittsburgh has a high proportion of foreign-born Americans who built the steel and coal industries into mighty giants of production. Like a cornered rat, Big Steel is now biting the very hands which toiled to make it big.

As part of its wave of intimidation, Big Steel is victimizing the foreign-born of Pittsburgh in ever-increasing numbers. Trade union and workers' leaders face deportation while literally thousands of rank-and-file workers are subjected to Gestapo-like grilling and loss of their jobs.

Frank Borich, former secretary of the National Miners' Union now merged with the United Mine Workers, was fingered by the same stoolie, Matt Cvetic, who has served his Big Steel masters so well in other frameups.

Fired from his job, his teenage daughters persecuted in school, Borich and his wife were forced to leave Pittsburgh and find work elsewhere.

With Borich, union official Vincent Kemenovich was fingered by Cvetic for a deportation frameup. Others so persecuted were Milan Yakrlin, Steven Petrola and Michael Puchacz, who died recently. These victims of deportation terror, part of 300 such cases throughout the country, are symbols of the thousands of workers who face daily inquisition.

Typical technique is to haul in a non-citizen or a naturalized one and try to force information from him about unions and organizations to which he may have belonged.

Authorities offer bribes, promising not to persecute such victims if they turn stoolie. If they refuse, they can lose their job and be blacklisted throughout the Pittsburgh area.

Mobsters Get Lawyers But Steve Nelson Was Forced to Defend Self

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—One hundred and sixty-three years ago we Americans won our basic civil rights with the signing of our U.S. Constitution. The 6th Amendment of our

Jury Rigging In Steeltown

A Chamber of Commerce Secretary—a servant of Big Business—was foreman of the federal grand jury that indicted Steve Nelson, Andy Onda, Jim Dolsen, Ben Careathers, William Albertson and Irving Weissman under the fascist Smith Act.

Another member of the indicting jury was nominated by the office of U.S. Attorney Edward C. Boyle, who will prosecute the six workers' leaders. (What a farce such an indictment is!) Others were nominated by federal and county judges, excluding union members and Negro people almost entirely.

And one of the indicting federal jurors was nominated by the county district attorney who started the State "sedition" act frame-up against Nelson, Onda and Dolsen.

Biased Judge

(Continued from Page 1)

1919, shortly before the beginning of the great steel strike, led by William Z. Foster, President Compters of the AFL charged that the steel companies were behind this anti-labor act.

Nelson was framed to protect the fat war profits of the Steel Trust. These profits zoomed after the war started in Korea. Nelson was calling for peace; so were other Pittsburgh Communists. That was a "crime" in the eyes of the Pittsburgh war profiteers. So the witchhunting "Americans Battling Communism" outfit demanded Nelson's indictment on charges of "sedition." And Judge Michael A. Musmanno, who works with this "A.B.C." group, plucked off his robes and raided Communist Party headquarters like a common cop. Nelson and two other Communists—Andy Onda and Jim Dolsen—were arrested the same day. Though Onda and Dolsen were convicted in August, 1951, they are still awaiting sentence. Nelson was railroaded last January—and got 20 years.

Frame-ups are old, old deals in Pittsburgh. But no frame-up was ever so crude. Judge Montgomery rushed Nelson to trial without a lawyer while he was crippled and sick. Labor spies (such low creatures that they'd need ladders to get into hell) testified against him. And Nelson got the limit—20 years.

Nelson MUST get bail. He can't prepare his defense against the coming trial under the Smith Act (with Onda, Dolsen, Ben Careathers, William Albertson, and Irving Weissman) while he is isolated in a cell. Protests must pour like a flood on District Attorney James F. Malone, and

constitution guarantees that "... the accused shall enjoy the right" ... to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." But in Pittsburgh, the Big Steel frameup has torn the heart out of the Constitution.

Nelson canvassed 700 attorneys, wrote every available lawyer in Pittsburgh, many throughout the state and in other parts of the country. He personally met with a good number of them, followed up written requests with phone calls. Result: not one lawyer agreed to defend him.

Why? Because the Pittsburgh witchhunt had made it clear that it was out to "get" Nelson. Attorneys knew that if they defended him, the witchhunt would "get" them, too.

The example of Hymen Schlesinger's frameup was fresh in every lawyer's memory. This noted Pittsburgh labor lawyer was perjured against by Stoolie Cvetic and other informers, leading a court to attempt his disbarment. Judge Musmanno then had him indicted on fraudulent "sedition" charges, but the case was so phony it was dropped.

Attorneys all over the country also saw what had happened to the five lawyers who defended 11 Communist leaders. Sentenced for as much as six months in jail for defending their clients with vigor and determination, these lawyers appealed their case to the U.S. Supreme Court which ruled that they had to go to jail.

Those were some of the reasons why Nelson couldn't find a single lawyer to take his case. Progressive attorneys who were ready to defy this terror could not defend him for still other reasons: The previous court record of 10 months made it impossible for any conscientious lawyer to take the case without at least three months of study. The Pittsburgh frameup judge would allow not even one week's delay for study.

Smith Act

(Continued from Page 1)

which has given sustenance as well as hope to the Negro people in their struggle for freedom and equality."

In an historic dissent from the Supreme Court's decision to uphold the Smith Act, Justice Black charged: "... this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press ... unconstitutional on its face and as applied." Joining him, Justice Douglas called the Act a violation of "one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme."

That persecution of Communists would be followed by persecutions of anyone disagreeing with the government was admitted in 1950 when Acting Asst. Atty. Gen. Whearty revealed that 21,105 "subversive" cases under the Smith Act were pending in the Justice Department's files against persons "who appear to be acting" like so-called subversives.

You can end the Pittsburgh Witchhunt, You and only you

1. Telephone, wire, and write to James Malone, District Attorney, Courthouse, Pittsburgh, Pa., demanding he agree to bail for Steve Nelson in his "sedition" frameup. Also, demand that he end sedition proceedings against Nelson, Onda, and Dolsen. Ask your union, church group, civic, or fraternal organization to do likewise.
2. Send wires and letters to Pres. Truman and to Edward C. Boyle, U.S. Attorney, Federal Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., demanding they halt the unconstitutional Smith Act persecutions in Pittsburgh and elsewhere in the U.S. Ask your organizations, relatives, and co-workers to do the same.
3. The drive to free victims of the Pittsburgh witchhunt costs money. Help in the struggle by sending your contributions to CRC, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., earmarked "Pittsburgh." Write to learn how to join the fight against the Pittsburgh terror by joining CRC.
4. Send to the CRC for your copies of the petition demanding repeal of the infamous Smith Act. Get your friends, relatives, and co-workers to sign as tens of thousands of patriotic Americans everywhere have done.
5. Get and read a copy of the book that is stirring world-wide interest, the 240-page documented charge which exposes the Pittsburgh Witchhunt and other attacks against the Negro people as part of the U.S. government's crime of genocide. For your copy of "We Charge Genocide," send \$1 to CRC, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

Anti-Labor Jim Crow Jails Four

(Continued from Page 1)

Bordonaro seized a Negro picket, Lester Peay, and left. Police then beat Smith and arrested him and Truitt.

Chief witnesses against them was the eager darling of Big Steel, Matt Cvetic. Held without bail before and during the

trial, Truitt, Smith, Peay and Charles Tarpley, a Negro picket, were sentenced to four years in jail. They served ten months, during which Truitt's business had to be sold to pay legal costs.

After they appealed their case the State Supreme Court ordered a new trial, the chief justice stating: "I have never seen such

rank injustice."

The new trial again produced a conviction. But, realizing how foul a stench was rising from the whole frameup, the new judge ruled that the time already served in jail was enough. The men are now free, but impoverished by legal expenses after nearly a year in jail.

Received on 10-10-52
from
H.S.M.

Mussolini's Student Sparks Big Steel Assault on Liberty

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The road from Mussolini's fascist plot to the infamous Pittsburgh Witchhunt is not as long as it looks. One man made the trip quite easily. He is Michael A. Musmanno, the judge who pulled the trigger on the Pittsburgh putsch and spearheaded Big Steel's attack on the Constitution.

Born in the U.S., Musmanno won a Doctor of Laws degree from Mussolini's University of Rome in 1924. In August of 1951, Musmanno was trying to win the lieutenant-governorship on the Democratic ticket. According to an associate of his, Harry Alan Sherman, chairman of the notorious hate group "Americans Battling Communism," Musmanno operated "on instruction from the Democratic Party leaders" in launch his vote-getting attack.

Looking up the Communist Party's address in the Pittsburgh phone book, Musmanno crossed the street from the court house and "raided" the Party headquarters.

He discovered copies of the Communist Manifesto and Capital, which he could also have found in any university or public library. As newspapers printed front page screamer headlines, he said: "I have witnessed sedition!"

Immediately the Party office was padlocked. Musmanno demanded and got the midnight arrest of Steve Nelson, party chairman, and two other leaders, Andy Onda and James Dolson. Musmanno did this, revealed ABC'er Sherman, "to get votes for himself and the Democratic ticket (which works) hand in glove with racketeer and gangster elements just like the Costello set-up."

During the ensuing trial, this graduate of Mussolini's school blossomed as an expert on Marxism-Leninism, monopolizing the witness stand day after day to "get a lot of good publicity," as Sherman admits.

Bitter at seeing Musmanno steal his thunder, Sherman also charged: "He claims to be an expert on Communism. . . Why, he didn't know the first thing about it. . . I had to tell him

everything. I had to prepare all the material for him."

What has been Musmanno's stake in spearheading a wave of anti-labor, anti-progressive frame-ups? Said Republican Sherman, disgusted last year at Democrat Musmanno's use of anticommunism to garner votes: "He wants to get the Democratic Party nomination for the State Supreme Court."

P.S.: He got the job.

Unionist Jailed For Protesting Jim Crow at Pool

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — In the Highland Park section of this city stands a public swimming pool, built and supported from taxes paid by Pittsburgh citizens, Negro and white. But for years no Negroes have been allowed to swim in it.

On August 22, 1950, some Pittsburgh people decided to do something about this shameful state of affairs. Together with several other white fellow-members of the United Electrical Workers union, Nathan Alberts accompanied Negro friends to the Highland Park pool. Everything went well until a gang of hoodlums showed up and proceeded to attack the Negro-white group, beating them severely.

It came as no surprise to those familiar with Pittsburgh's "law-and-order" that the hoodlums were never arrested, but Alberts and others of his group were hauled off to jail. The same judge, Harry Montgomery, who later sentenced Steve Nelson on a "sedition" frameup, sentenced Nathan Alberts to the maximum number of months possible, twenty-three, after hearing testimony by the notorious labor spy, Cvetic.

Today—as a result of this struggle, Negro and white swim together in this pool.

Tragedy at Sea; Big Steel's Greed Kills American Boys

It is night. A chill salt wind sweeps the darkened decks of a transport ship, lights blacked out against Nazi submarines. Below decks the men work or sleep; on the bridge sharp eyes scan the tossing seas for danger. Suddenly, without warning, the ship's steel hull splits, cracks, breaks up. General alarm bells shrill wildly. Barefooted men scramble for lifeboats. And in the small hours of the morning another World War II transport goes to the bottom.

Sunk by torpedoes? Bombed by airplanes? No. This ship, like dozens of others, was sunk by the U.S. Steel Corporation!

The mothers, fathers, wives and children of brave seamen who died on transports during the last war have learned with bitter horror that the greed of U.S. Steel sent their sons and husbands to their death. U.S. Steel's president Benjamin Fairless has admitted it. Truman himself agreed. But U.S. Steel, killer of American youth, has never been punished.

This monstrous story of war profits made through the murder of Americans began in the early years of the war when transports broke up at sea mysteriously. Experts were baffled until the S.S. Schenectady, an oil tanker, sank off Portland, Ore., in January, 1952. Then the whole fraud burst wide open.

Investigators found the hull plates, made by U.S. Steel, had split down the ship's sides below the water line. They learned that countless thousands of tons of steel sold to the Navy and U.S. Maritime Commission were similarly shoddy and defective. The company at first denied this. Losses were estimated at \$100,000,000. But this figure could never include the anguish and tears of families bereft of their loved ones by the breachery of U.S. Steel.

U.S. Steel is not the first & the last of Morgan's firm to cheat the government and the

people. As far back as 1881 Morgan companies were buying condemned carbines from Union troops and selling them back at prices five times higher than their original cost. But during World War II, when the government discovered how it had been cheated, it sued U.S. Steel for \$100,000,000.

In March of 1943, a committee headed by Sen. Harry S. Truman quizzed clerks, foremen and metallurgists of U.S. Steel, trying to break down the company's denial that it had been caught red-handed in crime.

They confessed to fooling government inspectors, faking test reports of steel quality, all on orders of higher-ups. One scientist, George E. Dye, who objected to the fakery, was nearly fired for so doing. One of the plants where this fraud went on was the Irwin Sheet Steel mill near Pittsburgh.

Caught in the act, Fairless confessed: "There has been misrepresentation and falsification." Truman declared U.S. Steel "a bunch of crooks." But what happened to the \$100,000,000 law suit?

For eight years it lay on the shelf in the Federal Building on Pittsburgh's Seventh Avenue across the street from Mellon's Gulf Oil and Koppers Buildings. Then, in October, 1951, U.S. Attorney Edward C. Boyle asked that the suit be thrown out. His request was granted at once.

In this the end of the story? Or are new chapters being written as new wars, new ships, new steel is made? Meanwhile U.S. Attorney Boyle, who made the gift of \$100,000,000 to U.S. Steel now prosecutes six U.S. Steel enemies under the Smith Act.

'Red' Hunt Loses ACLUer Her Job

If anyone thought only Communists were the target of Pittsburgh's fascist-like witchhunt, they were rudely awakened, in 1950 by the notorious Matson Case, which victimized an innocent member of the American Civil Liberties Union caught in a squeeze play between Democrats and GOP politicians fighting to control Pennsylvania.

During the opening weeks of the "sedition" trial of Onda and Dolson, GOP Attorney General Charles J. Margiotti issued a front-page newspaper blast against the Democratic hacks prosecuting the trial. He demanded that Mrs. Marjorie Matson, of the D.A.'s office be fired for "communistic association."

Mrs. Matson's crime? She had written the ACLU in New York that "the present situation in our city is very bad from a civil liberties point of view . . . a wave of hysteria which has swept the community."

Mrs. Matson was forced to take a leave of absence while a special investigation committee gumshoed through her private life. Result: A board of inquiry eventually cleared Mrs. Matson of the charge. But the hysterical pressure did its job. Mrs. Matson found it impossible to do anything but resign her job, another victim of the Pittsburgh witch hunt.

Patterson: 'Hitler Plan Rules P'gh?'

NEW YORK, N. Y. — "The specter of Hitler's genocide stalks Pittsburgh as it grips our entire land," charged William L. Patterson, national head of the Civil Rights Congress, who recently returned from Europe where he exposed before the world the U.S. government's crimes of genocide—mass murder—against the Negro people.

"What began in 1933 with Hitler's fascist attacks against the Communists, trade unions and the Jewish people," Patterson explained, "now continues in our own country with a deliberate criminal policy of government which by Jim Crow, lynching, legal frameup, segregation and discrimination seeks to suppress the Negro people's mighty struggle for full freedom and equality."

"It is no accident," Patterson said, "that one of the victims of the government's Smith

Act prosecutions in Pittsburgh is Benjamin L. Careathers, a fighting Negro labor leader whom I once had the honor, as an attorney, to defend in the 1930's, when he was the victim of a government frameup for his fearless leadership."

"Nor is it accidental," Patterson went on, "that in the New Kensington and Swimming Pool case Negro and white progressive and labor people, by their fearless unity in the fight for their rights, drew down the frameup attempts of government. The Pittsburgh Witchhunt contains within it every phase of the government's genocide, its drive to war and its attempt to make of our land a carbon-copy of Hitler Germany."

Recalling that Hitler murdered six million Jews as part of his plans for war and fascism, Patterson explained that this brutal act of genocide was

preceded by, and continued hand in hand with, a mass campaign to kill, torture or throw into concentration camps every minority party or labor leader worthy of the name.

"What we have in Pittsburgh today," he continued, "is an identical three-pronged attack: (1) against the Negro people as part of a national crime of genocide reflected in Florida bomb-murders, legal lynchings, Cicero hate-orgies and the like; (2) against minority political party leaders whose crime is to think differently than the government; (3) against trade unions fighting the encroachments of Big Steel."

Describing the manner in which the government seeks to behead the leadership of the people, Negro and white, Patterson referred to the recent futile attempt to send the noted Negro

historian and writer, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, to jail, the refusal to allow Paul Robeson to travel freely, the frameup of labor leaders like Harry Bridges, and Harold Christoffel and the attempt by the government to jail Patterson himself after a Georgia congressman attacked him in Congress and screamed "g—d—black son of a b—"

"The unconstitutional Smith Act," Patterson charged, "is a club over the heads of every American."

"This terror was begun by Congress, the legislative branch of government, which passed the law. It is being prosecuted by the Justice Department, of the executive branch, which has some 21,000 more frameups ready for action. And it has been sustained by Federal courts including the Supreme Court, the judicial branch. Thus the full governmental conspiracy

is clear: legislative, executive and judicial branches combine to suppress, intimidate and silence the will of the entire people for peace and freedom, and of the Negro people for full equality."

"The Pittsburgh Witchhunt," Patterson concluded, "is a warning and a sign. It warns us that the government stops at nothing—perjury, frameup, collusion—in its attempts to silence opposition. It is a sign standing at the crossroads of America, pointing to the evil downward path of Hitler genocide and war, or to the road upward returning to our true American democratic heritage."

"Ours is the choice. We can halt the terror, free its victims and win back our constitutional liberties and human rights. In the unity of Negro and white we can go forward to victory, to freedom and to peace."

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5 YEARS OF TAFT-HARTLEY

An expose of
the Anti-Labor
conspiracy

pages 4-22



Dear Reader:

The howl and cry in the halls of Congress to apply Taft-Hartley against the striking steel workers stimulated us to devote this issue to an analysis of five years of the T-H law.

The facts and information contained in this issue should become available to tens of thousands of trade union members throughout the country. To the best of our knowledge no other labor publication ever did such a thorough job in gathering all the facts and information on T-H as MOL has done.

In the coming political campaign, Big Business, with its millions of dollars, will make an all-out effort to convince the millions who toil for a living that Taft-Hartley is really not as bad as it is made to appear. We believe we have the answers that will expose their propaganda.

The big thing now is to reach the rank and file. On this we must rely almost entirely on our readers.

* * *

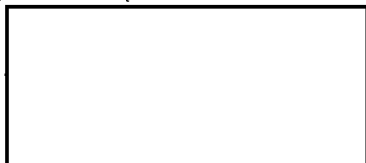
Last month we made an urgent appeal for funds. The response so far does not guarantee that the magazine's financial crisis will be resolved. All we can do is to appeal to you again. You know very well whether you responded or not.

We know that there is no big money among our readers. Over ninety-five per cent of our readers are men and women in overalls, who work hard to eke out a living. We therefore are not expecting large contributions. Better yet, help us get new readers. Whatever you do, don't ignore us.

* * *

With this issue we are celebrating our second birthday. Two years ago this month, MOL appeared on the American labor scene. For a magazine two years is indeed a short time of existence. Yet, we have made tremendous progress in reaching thousands of active trade unionists who now rely on MOL to keep up-to-date with all major developments within the ranks of organized labor.

With your continued help we will do our part in making MOL a real source for progress.



march of Labor

NATIONAL MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE ACTIVE TRADE UNIONIST

Vol 4, No. 8—August, 1952

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MARCH OF LABOR

Labor HIGHLIGHTS

15,000 Hear Murray Pledge Victory

DUQUESNE, Pa.—Fifteen thousand steelworkers here cheered a pledge by Pres. Philip Murray of United Steelworkers (CIO) that their long strike would end in victory despite the big steel conspiracy to prevent a settlement.

On hand were Mayor Frank Kopriver, the president of the school board and 20 state senators from steel districts, who made brief speeches expressing support.

A state of emergency has been declared in Duquesne, which is almost totally dependent on the U.S. Steel Corp. for its economic well-being. Many of the strikers are seeking public assistance to tide them over the lean strike days.

But spirits were high as Murray addressed the Duquesne workers and thousands of others who came from neighboring steel communities. There is "no sign or semblance of defeat in the hearts or minds" of steelworkers anywhere in the U.S., Murray declared.

"The union is going to win the fight," he said. "Nobody is strong enough to lick us."

The strikers heard a strong hint from union Vice Pres. James Thimmes that the union would defy a Taft-Hartley injunction. "From the reaction I have received throughout the country," he said, "steelworkers in this town as well as in others would not produce a single ton of steel if the Taft-Hartley law were invoked."

Northwest Loggers Win Victory

SEATTLE—Western Washington loggers, millworkers and boommen returned to their jobs, having notched a major victory after two months on the bricks. Some 7,000 Intl. Woodworkers (CIO) members successfully beat back an anti-union offensive and won their demand for full employer responsibility for a 7½c-an-hour health and welfare program.

Besides winning their health and welfare demand, the strikers went back with a new contract that includes a 7½c hourly pay increase, three more paid holidays for a total of six, liberalized vacation and increased night shift premiums.

Soap Company Sues ILWU

SAN FRANCISCO—The Colgate-Palmolive Peet Co. has sued the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union for \$584,548, charging that 500 warehousemen damaged the firm's Berkeley plant by a slowdown before they struck April 15.

Pres. Charles Duarte of the ILWU warehouse division said: "This is an attempt of the company to intimidate the union and we will not be intimidated.

"We had three months of negotiations prior to the strike. Instead of discussing our demand for a 17½c hourly wage increase and the restoration of work to four of our men, the company is trying to wipe out our gains during the last five years."

Uphold Fines Against Strike Leaders

BAYARD, N.M.—The New Mexico supreme court upheld a fine of \$4,000 each for contempt of court against the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and its Bayard affiliate, Local 890.

The decision left standing 90-day suspended jail sentences against three union leaders, Intl. Rep. Clint Jencks and Ernest Velasquez and Cipriano Montoya of Local 890.

The fines arose from the 15-month strike of the local against the New Jersey Zinc Co.'s lead-zinc operations at

Hanover. The company obtained an anti-picketing injunction during the strike which was used as the basis for mass arrests. The local still faces fines of about \$60,000, with some 75 court cases still unsettled.

AFL Meat Cutters Plan Drive

SAN FRANCISCO—Open war on the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) was declared at the 18th quadrennial convention here of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL). The AFL union is starting an all-out campaign, financed with a \$2½ million fund, to organize a drive against the rival CIO union.

The delegates even turned down a resolution calling for unity among the AFL, CIO and unaffiliated unions, but reversed their action when it was pointed out the proposed resolution was part of official AFL policy.

—from Mine-Mill's THE UNION



"You've been lost in a swamp for a month? Good heavens, Frank, I thought you were working overtime again!"

Anti-Reuther Slate Wins

DEARBORN, Mich.—The first important unit in Ford Local 600, United Auto Workers (CIO) to vote since UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther sent in administrators March 15 elected anti-Reuther officers June 27.

Maintenance unit Pres. Art Speed, who goes along with Pres. Carl Stellato and the other Local 600 top officers in opposition to the Reuther administrators, was re-elected by 1,911 votes over Bill Armstrong, the Reuther selection, who got 1,597.

Additional elections in the 19 units that comprise Local 600 have been postponed indefinitely because of the layoffs entailed by the steel strike. This throws the unit elections further into August and will probably delay election of top local officers until September or later, if Reuther so wishes.

Flint Local Elects Tony O'Brien

FLINT, Mich.—Chevrolet Local 659, long the most outspoken opposition local in the UAW-CIO, elected Tony O'Brien president. Pres. Coburn S. Walker, most articulate foe of UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther in the union, had been eliminated in the primary.

O'Brien, who was vice president under Walker and editor of The Searchlight, local organ chastised by Reuther at the last convention, was supported by Walker against Torrell Thompson, the Reuther pick.

NAM Eager for Gloves-Off Battle With Labor

The Nation's
free the
the
defi
BIG BUSINESS
DECLARES WAR
ON THE
PEOPLE

War Nets Big Steel
Firms 113% Profit
Gain After Tax

GM Advertisement Sets
Pitch for Fight on Labor

U.S. Steel's Turndown
Arrogant, Says Murray

Who laid the ground work for the T-H plot?

How was the monster born?

What are the 7 anti-labor weapons contained in T-H?

How and where have these been used against labor?

What did T-H make you pay?

What did T-H make your union pay?

How did labor fight back?

Can T-H be repealed?

Here are the facts 

1

The Groundwork of the Plot is Laid

A GENTLEMAN NAMED H. W. Prentiss Jr. gave the story away.

"American businessmen," he politely warned, "might be forced to turn to some form of disguised fascistic dictatorship."

This was no two-bit fuhrer blowing soap bubbles. This was the chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The year was 1938. It was the climax of a brief era that saw the people march forward to win social gains under the New Deal's banner. The NAM felt labor was getting to eat too high off the hog. Big business hated the Wagner Act for giving the unions a chance to put a bigger share of company profits into workers' pay envelopes. It annoyed Mr. Prentiss when the guy in overalls no longer kneeled to the gent in striped pants.

"Too much democracy," cried Mr. Prentiss, is "the greatest pitfall facing the American people."

Nine years later, NAM money tailored a strait jacket for labor. They named the new style Taft-Hartley. The threat, Prentiss had made in 1938 was now a long step nearer realization.

In the years between that threat and the passage of Taft-Hartley we fought a world war to defeat fascism. But the NAM didn't turn its guns against Hitler. It kept firing away at labor.

In January 1944, as our troops fought at Anzio and Kwajalein, Prentiss told business it must work for "legislation to remove the Wage-Hour law, the Wagner Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and other laws affecting labor-management relations."

To the coupon-clippers, the war's goal wasn't beating fascism. It was \$51 billions in profits—after taxes—and the elimination of every rival for the business markets of the world. Big business

was bent on coming out top dog, at home and abroad.

Hardly had President Roosevelt been lowered into his grave when the NAM began putting its program to work. Herbert Hoover strolled into the White House as Truman's invited guest. Two days later the Wall Street Journal happily announced: "The crusading days of the New Deal as directed from the White House are over."

NAM Super Plotters at Work

It was the setup the NAM had been waiting for. Now the big brains went to work to plot the strategy to cripple unions and fatten profits. The problem was tackled by the employers' secret general staff—the so-called Special Conference Committee.

Twelve corporations—billionaires, all—sit on this super ruling body of American business. (See list boxed on next page.)

This dozen are, according to no less a source than the U.S. Senate Civil Liberties Report, not only "members of the inner controlling group of the NAM and leaders among American industrial giants in their respective fields, but also they represent a secret coalition in direct furtherance of the specific forms of company union fathered by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co."

It is a November night in 1945. A group of men meet secretly in a luxurious suite of a Washington hotel near Capitol Hill. All lawyers, they bear instructions from the NAM general staff. Their job is to write the legal double-talk that will carry out the boss' intentions. Standing by are the boys that will carry the ball in Congress—the team of senators and congressmen captained by Taft and Hartley.

Out in the shops and mines of the land a wave of restlessness surges through labor as the plotters meet. Prices break through the thin crust of

controls. Profits soar skyward. Week after week take-home pay buys less and less.

Demands for pay hikes are laid on the bargaining table. When bosses say no, picketlines shut down plant after plant. Headlines scream with slanderous charges. But the unions stand solid. Steel, auto, electrical, mining write proud pages in labor's history. Unity of labor wins. It is a lesson the employers will not forget.

If labor unity stands in the way of

WASON SAYS UNIONS RUN THE COUNTRY

President of NAM Calls Them a 'Supergovernment' and OPA 'Political Stepchild'

CHAUTAUQUE

Labor unions

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UNION CURBS URGED BY U. S. CHAMBER

Resolution Asks for Program Similar to the Conservative Sentiment in Congress

U. S. CONTROLS OPPOSED

Government's Role Should Be to Define Limits for Both Sides, Speakers Contend

By CHARLES HURD
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES
WASHINGTON, May 1—The Chamber of Commerce of the United States called today, by resolution, for labor legislation about parallel with the more conservative Congress.



GENERAL MOTORS BIG THREE put their heads together. Left to right: GM President Charles E. Wilson; Board Chairman Alfred P. Sloan, Jr.; Research Consultant Charles F. Kettering.

THE 12 SUPERPLOTTERS

THESE 12 BILLIONAIRE corporations are the members of the Special Conference Committee, exposed by Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah as the secret general staff of America's controlling oligarchy.

Their program—by putting across Taft-Hartley and other similar measures—to destroy labor's power, wipe out social welfare legislation, and the people's democratic rights, keep wages down and profits high.

Corporation	President	Assets (In Millions of dollars)	President's Salary*
1. American Tel. & Tel.	Cleo F. Craig	\$11,575	\$141,300
2. Standard Oil of N.J.	Eugene Holman	4,707	218,632
3. General Motors	Chas. E. Wilson	3,672	583,256
4. U.S. Steel	Benjamin Fairless	3,141	271,176
5. DuPont Corp.	Crawford Greenewalt	1,599	519,600
6. Bethlehem Steel	Eugene Grace	1,542	456,652
7. General Electric	Ralph Cordiner	1,460	234,750
8. Irving Trust Co.	W. E. Enstrom	1,389	unavailable
9. Westinghouse	Gwilym Price	1,004	208,431
10. Int'l Harvester	John McCaffrey	909	192,463
11. Goodyear Tire	E. J. Thomas	506	165,723
12. U.S. Rubber	H. E. Humphreys Jr.	463	325,038

*Not including dividend payments, stock option or annual pension figures.

strike-busting, runaway shops and the wage freeze, something is needed to destroy that solidarity. General Electric's Charlie Wilson, member of the Special Conference Committee, speaking after the strikes on Oct. 10, 1946, says, "... the problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad and labor at home."

You couldn't be any clearer. The way to create disunity was to scream "Red!"—to drag that smelly old herring across the council tables of the United Nations and through the meeting halls of labor. The NAM didn't need to be told that you can't separate policy abroad from policy at home. You couldn't wreck the hope for peace and grab for markets abroad without splitting labor at home and smashing the people's organizations.

\$3,600,000 to Sell T-H

Under the guidance of the NAM's superstaff, a common "labor relations" program for all industry is formulated. At a signal, the floodgates are opened wide and a torrent of propaganda flows through the pipelines into the press, radio, magazines, movies, libraries, churches and schools. The NAM alone spent \$3,600,000 in 1947 to sell Taft-Hartley to America.

With every downward spiral of the economic cycle the business boys cry "communism" and spoon more cream off fatter war orders. It works so simply. Production drops in 1946—and plans to build military bases around the world are launched. The business index slips in 1947—and Truman decides to send arms to Greece and Turkey. Profits drop—and the Marshall Plan is announced. In 1949 the glimmer of a big bust is seen—and Congress tosses a \$20 billion war budget into the breach. In midsummer 1950 a few cracks appear in the economy. War begins in Korea.

Truman Declares National Emergency

Dun and Bradstreet, investment counselors, confide that "the effect of the Korean crisis on business was salutary." From the White House comes a proclamation calculated to keep business prospects bright. Truman declares a "national emergency" in December 1950 and hands the same Charlie (G.E.) Wilson we've been talking about "sweeping powers" to run the country.

Result?

In 1951, corporation profits before taxes hit the all-time high of \$45 billion and dividends line the pockets of Wilson's buddies with \$8 billions. Comforting news to the GI dying in a far-off rice paddy.

Meanwhile the master plan is being carefully spelled out by the NAM's co-

Labor Makes it hot for the plotters

worker, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (founded by the NAM in 1916).

In a series of five reports issued for employers the Chamber of Commerce blueprints each stage in the conspiracy to destroy democratic rights and drive the country towards war. Each step spelled out in these "Reports on Communism" is put into effect.

The government "loyalty" purge, the Un-American Committee investigations, the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations, the McCarran-McCarthy probe of the State Department, the Taft-Hartley law, the blacklisting of teachers, writers, radio and television artists. Business has only to snap its fingers and its servants in Congress and the White House jump to obey.

Of all these measures, Taft-Hartley was to be the ball-carrier against labor's rights. The nation's 15 million unionists were the chief target, since they were the nation's great bulwark of the drive toward war.

Now, with the latest Chamber of Commerce report, issued March 1952, industry at last reveals that unions—not communism—are the danger it seeks to destroy. The latest report attacks not only communists, but "fellow-travelers" and "dupes" and "those who engage in pro-communist activities," such as CIO's fight against the Smith Act.



A SHOW OF HANDS. Workers are in no mood to take bosses' deals lying down. Here members of the CIO National Maritime Union register unanimous vote for a strike to back up their pay demands in 1946.



DESPITE mounting attacks unions were still scoring victories.

The Monster is Born

Out to Get Fighting Unions

If speedup, low wages, high prices and high taxes make you mad enough to strike, then to the rulers of industry you are engaging in "continuous sabotage, in the guise of economic issues."

So we come full circle back to those 14-year-old words of NAM leader H. W. Prentiss Jr., "American businessmen might be forced to turn to some form of disguised fascist dictatorship."

A Grim Warning

Strikes are treason, in the eyes of men like this. Big business today is saying "whole hog or nothing." Right, left or in the middle—the NAM makes no distinction so long as you oppose union-busting, speedup, discrimination, frozen wages, high prices—and war.

On hand to spell out the C. of C.'s further aims to destroy unions are bills before Congress to outlaw strikes (the Smith bill), deny workers the right to choose their own unions (McCarran bills), and make it illegal for companies to deal with certain unions (Humphrey proposals), all described more fully on page 19.

And the concentration camps McCarran is building in Arizona, Florida, California, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania rise as the final warning of how far down the road of Nazi Germany the great conspiracy is driving us.

WHO WROTE THE TAFT- HARTLEY ACT?

Even before the Taft-Hartley law was passed, astute representatives of organized labor had smoked out the fact that it was not written by either half of the congressional team.

Nor was it written in the offices of the House labor committee, which conducted lengthy public hearings before presenting the bill to the full House for action.

Birthplace of the bill was the fifth floor of the new House Office Building in rooms assigned by Rep. Ralph W. Gwinn (R, N.Y.). Among those who wrote the bill was William Ingles, a registered lobbyist for J. I. Case Co., Allis-Chalmers and Inland Steel.

Another character who had a hand in the bill was Theodore Iserman, a lawyer for the Chrysler Corp. Mark Jones, an industrial promoter of New York who reportedly had connections with the Rockefeller interests, and Jerry Morgan, attorney for a number of corporations, including the Alaska Development Co. In addition, a constant stream of lawyers and consultants working for the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was seen entering and leaving the Gwinn offices.

The real story of who wrote the law became common knowledge in the capital. Rep. John McCormack (D, Mass.) rose on the floor of the House April 15, 1947, to denounce what had happened as "the most vicious kind of demonstration of corporate lobbying" in his years of service in Washington.



THE WINNER, Papa Taft cheers birth of his "baby."

The C. of C., mouthpiece of the same clique of billionaires that call themselves the Special Conference Committee, wants every industry to adopt a "collective bargaining clause which permits the discharge of any worker who is a communist or who continues to engage in pro-Communist activities." And this, adds Mr. Boss, should apply to workers "in any plant big enough to have a union."

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
Section 1

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1948

PRESIDENT PROCLAIMS A NATIONAL EMERGENCY; STRIKE ENDS; REJECTS TRUCE

Canceled: TRUMAN GETS DRIVE
Edict Gives Wilson Sweeping
Powers, Asks 'Mighty
Production Effort'

NEXT STEP IN THE CONSPIRACY. Proclamation of "national emergency" opens the way to new repressions against unions.



THE VOICE OF LABOR. Union labor gives the real lowdown on T-H.

THE VOICE OF BIG BUSINESS. NAM ads try to sell Taft-Hartley.

TAFT-HARTLEY: *What it can do*

ANY APPRAISAL of Taft-Hartley's first five years must take into consideration the fact that the industrialists have kept the wraps on this vicious measure, using as yet only a few of its deadly provisions.

STRIKE-BREAKING

THE FORMULA: The boss can get injunctions against unions to prevent "mass picketing"; to prevent strikes "impairing the national health and safety"; to prevent sympathy strikes or secondary boycotts; to prevent striking and picketing for recognition. The boss can refuse to rehire strikers at the conclusion of a strike. He can fire leading strikers at the conclusion of a strike. Strike-breakers and scabs are given the right to vote at union elections while strikers whom they replaced on the job lose this right.

DESTROY FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

THE FORMULA: The boss can refuse to bargain in good faith and get away with it. He can even shut down

his plant to prevent negotiations. He can demand "cooperation" from the union as a bribe before settling grievances. He can get away with downgrading, wage cuts, broken seniority and miserable working conditions.

KEEP THE OPEN SHOP

THE FORMULA: The boss is specifically allowed by the act to intimidate and coerce workers against joining a union. His anti-union activities are outlined under the law.

DEPRIVE WORKERS OF THEIR UNION

THE FORMULA: The boss is allowed to file "unfair labor charges" against the union. His stooges may institute decertification proceedings to deprive the rest of the workers of their union which has already been certified as their collective bargaining agent.

DESTROY UNION TREASURIES

THE FORMULA: Once an injunction is obtained, the boss can institute a court action for so-called damages and

the courts will then levy exorbitant fines and payments for these so-called damages.

DESTROY UNION DEMOCRACY

THE FORMULA: Under the pretext of requiring the signing of so-called non-Communist affidavits, only those union members who are willing to comply with this undemocratic procedure may run for elected office. Doubt, suspicion and hysteria, created by this question, can pit one union member against another and destroy the unity so necessary to defeat the boss.

PUT COMPANY SPIES BACK INTO UNIONS

THE FORMULA: Every employee may now keep his job under a "union shop" contract if he pays his initiation fee and his dues. The union cannot boot him out for anti-union activities. Thus the Taft-Hartley Act authorizes the employer to protect thieves who steal union funds, informers against other workers, and company spies inside the union.



UNITED MINERWORKER CHIEF John L. Lewis never bowed down to the Taft-Hartley law. It was his refusal to participate with the T-H board that led to his break with the AFL at their San Francisco convention in October, 1947. Again and again he defied the plotters who had put the Taft-Hartley shackles onto labor. And the miners who have written so many great pages in U.S. labor history did it again during these crucial months and years.

The following are excerpts from his historic speech in opposition to the Taft-Hartley law.

'We are going to

"... The Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. It came into being through an alliance between industrialists and the Republican majority in Congress, aided and abetted by those Democratic legislators who still believe in the institution of human slavery. . . .

"... It creates an inferior class of citizens, an inferior category and a debased position politically for the men and women who toil by hand or brain for their daily subsistence and to safeguard the future for their loved ones.

Act a Trap

"... The signing of the affidavit isn't the only thing that an organization has to do to conform to this act. This act is a trap, a pitfall for the organization of labor, and I am surprised that those who have been attempting to analyze it haven't looked down the road just a few months or a year to find out some of the things that are inherent in this act. This act was passed to oppress labor, to make difficult its current enterprises for collective bargaining, to make more difficult the securing of new members for this labor movement. . . .

"... How much heart do you think that will give the members of our organizations out in the industrial centers of this country when they see their great leaders, with all the pomp and ceremonials of a great convention, kneeling in obeisance before this detestable and tyrannical statute? Do you think that will encourage them?

Fight — or Run?

"... You know, if you grovel enough in this convention, you will probably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when the Congress and the enemies of labor find out how

easy you are they will give you more to grovel for. . . . Hadn't you better fight a little now than fight more down the road, or would you rather run?

"Well, gentlemen of the convention, I represent an organization. They pay me; and they are not going to run with you. They don't like to run. I will say this, that those of the membership don't

Insulted 9 times over

"The Taft-Hartley act is an insult to the working men and women of this country and they won't rest until it's repealed and destroyed."

That's what Pres. Truman told a Jackson Day dinner in Washington Feb. 24, 1949.

But Truman has compounded the insult at least 9 times. That is how often he used Taft-Hartley injunctions to force striking workers back on the job under threat of fines and jail.



Coak. in. CIO News

MARCH OF LABOR

not run...

hesitate to tell me that they don't pay me to run, either, in the wrong direction.

"We are not going to run with you. I don't know what the Congress will do next session. That depends a great deal on what this convention does. If they see we are on the run they will take courage and they will fashion some more sharp spears to accelerate our speed even greater. Conceivably they might pass a bill next session that takes away the optional features of this act—make it 20 years in the pen for not signing this affidavit or sending out a provost-marshal guard and corral some of us; charge us with treason or high crimes and misdemeanors. That is the next logical step. That is what happened in Italy and in Germany, didn't it? . . .

" . . . If you resist the power of the state, the central government will be used against you, and if you don't resist it will be used against you that much more quickly, because they won't lose any sleep at night worrying about what to do with a labor movement that is fleeing before the storm. . . ."



The Little Flower Said it . . .

"Twelve inspiring years devoted to human rights and a better life for the people—12 long, lean years for the special interests—have made the reactionaries cagey, cautious, conniving and cunning."

So wrote the late Fiorello H. LaGuardia, New Deal mayor of New York, a few days after the Taft-Hartley act became law. Passage of T-H, he revealed, "was all according to schedule. Shrewd political manipulators are shaping policies and guiding legislation. Progressive forces, liberal groups, independents and or-

ganized labor are routed. They have been too busy fighting each other."

LaGuardia disclosed that T-H was part of "a determined plan to revert to a small ownership class and obtain complete control of the very lives of the 'working class.' This plan is engineered by capable men and covers not only our own country, but has been injected into our foreign policy.

"The American people have been caught unawares . . . We are back in the old days of trusts, big money and predatory wealth."

ALL OVER THE COUNTRY the rank and file responded to the fight against Taft-Hartley.





The Rank and File Were Rarin' To Go . . .

5

BIG BUSINESS feared that the display of strength which opposed the passage of Taft-Hartley would grow. It feared that the working people would sweep away this act in a mighty repeal demand.

So the big business conspirators pulled out their joker.

Working through their huge, billion-dollar propaganda agencies—the big newspapers, bought-and-paid-for radio commentators, as well as political officeholders—the corporations acted.

The so-called “anti-Communist” affidavit provision was their “secret weapon.”

The affidavit requirement was only one small provision of the act, but industry chose to use that provision at the start. The idea was to propagandize the American people that the act was really not a “slave labor” bill as labor had warned, but merely a way to rid unions of communists.

The ruse worked. The deadly provisions of Taft-Hartley were forgotten in the smoke screen of red-baiting that swept through the labor movement. Many labor leaders rushed to sign affidavits that they were not Communists. The law specified that such affidavits were necessary if a union was to be able to participate in NLRB elections.

Other labor leaders—such as John L. Lewis, leaders of the International Typographical Union and, for a time Phil Murray, refused to sign.

The affidavit propaganda barrage brought forward a new development in labor's own ranks. On the heels of Taft-Hartley came interunion raiding wherein one union preyed on another union. The raiders used the Taft-Hartley “secret weapon”—red-baiting—to establish their beach heads.

The most militant section of organized labor, the CIO, lost a large segment of its strength when its leaders succumbed to the pressure of the Truman administration and expelled its most progressive unions. Like big business, these labor “statesmen,” used

Taft-Hartley's “secret weapon”—red-baiting and hysteria—to cover up the real issues in the CIO split.

With organizing of new workers at a standstill, because of Taft-Hartley paralysis, activity usually devoted to new organization was transformed to interunion “cannibalism.” Instead of concentrating their fire on the campaign

EVEN THE DEAD CAN VOTE UNDER TAFT-HARTLEY

Just how weird the Taft-Hartley law is was demonstrated in Wenatchee, Washington, in early 1948 when an AFL cannery workers local petitioned the NLRB for a union shop election. It was announced that all workers on the payroll, as of that date would be eligible to vote.

A few days later one of the workers died. Under the Taft-Hartley law all those eligible who don't cast their ballots are counted as voting against the union shop. So the dead man was counted as voting NO.

but there was a joker!

for Taft-Hartley repeal, a handful of labor leaders sought to use T-H to snatch plants from unions who opposed the affidavit provision on principle.

Even after union leaders signed the affidavits under protest—recognizing them as an instrument for hiding the real role of Taft-Hartley—the raids continued. Accumulated funds, energies and manpower of the union movement were squandered in raiding and withstanding raids.

Victims selected were the UE, mine-mill, the farm implement workers, white collar unions and other fighting organizations formerly in the CIO. Government "investigating" committees—House Labor subcommittees and the Un-American Activities Committee—raced around the country to give a hand to the raiders by conducting their much publicized witchhunts on the eve of NLRB representation elections. Likewise, raiding intensified between AFL and CIO unions and even within the CIO family.

But these high-powered, expensive efforts did not bring the great results the Taft-Hartleyites and labor fakers expected. Militant unions fought back with weapons forged on many picket lines. Though they lost some shops and workers who had become confused by the red-baiting, they maintained their organizations and their fighting programs and, despite these obstacles, have in notable cases beaten back the bosses and made major gains for their members.

The Price of Disunity

When the drive for Taft-Hartley repeal opened in the spring of 1949, the labor movement was so torn apart by red-baiting and raiding that no effective nation-wide movement could be organized. Many labor leaders preferred to ask for "amending" the act rather than complete repeal.

Taking advantage of this weakness, anti-labor politicians in Congress introduced the Wood bill in April, 1949, which actually would have made Taft-Hartley worse than it is.

The Truman administration, floundering deep in the mire of compromise, introduced another bill to "amend" the act rather than wipe it off the books. No effort was made by Truman to rally

his forces to repeal the act, though the 1948 Democratic platform had stated definitely, "We advocate repeal of Taft-Hartley."

The fight for repeal thus became a maneuver for passage of the "lesser of two evils." Only the lone brilliant tactic of former Representative Vito Marcantonio (American Labor Party, N.Y.) prevented the Taft-Hartley act from being worsened.

This was a great lesson in what red-baiting can do to labor. More lessons were soon to come.

Form NLRB-1061 (5-49)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

AFFIDAVIT OF NONCOMMUNIST UNION OFFICER
(See instructions on reverse)

The undersigned, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a responsible officer of the union named below.
2. I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated party.
3. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Full name of union, including local union number: _____

(Full name of national district or international organization of which it is an affiliate or member) _____

Signature: _____

Address: _____ (Street) _____ (City and State) _____

(The notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths must fill in completely or blank for)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19____.

A notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments in and for the county of _____, State of _____.

My commission expires _____.

(SEAL)

(SIGNATURE)

WARNING.—The attention of persons filing this form with the Board is directed to Section 35 (A) of the criminal code, which provides that any person willfully making or causing to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Board shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

10-5568A-2

The idea that the anti-Communist affidavits were the main part of the Taft-Hartley law was being dispelled as a wave of injunctions, lawsuits and other actions struck the labor movement. They hit workers indiscriminately wherever a fight for higher wages and decent working conditions was going on. Today the real Taft-Hartley weapons are brought to bear against striking unions, whether they are labeled "left," "right," or "center," and workers know that their only real hope for victory in their battles lies in repeal of this brutal law.

LONGSHOREMEN HIT IN COAST NLRB SUIT

SAN FRANCISCO, June 10.—The Waterfront Employers Association of the West today

Truman Ready To Use T-H in Copper Strike

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.—(UP)—President Truman was prepared today to use the Taft-Hartley act

to get striking copper workers back to producing the sorely needed vital defense metal.

There remained, however, an outside chance that secret negotiations reported last night between the leftist Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union (Ind.) and six other unions, and Kennecott's Copper corporation would end in a settlement.

An agreement with Kennecott would mean peace with other strikebound companies which together produce

T-H begins to pay off

THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW is one of the most expensive laws ever to hit the statute books in the U.S. Its cost to unions, to workers individually and to their families can be reckoned in dollars and cents, as well as in the loss of such priceless possessions as the right to organize, the right to strike without two strikes against you, and the right to speak and think and live as free Americans.

Union treasuries—built up over the years with workers' hard-earned and harder-spared pennies, to give them financial protection in strikes—are being hit for literally millions of dollars by Taft-Hartley fines and damage suits.

Millions in Fines

• The Taft-Hartley law has already cost the United Mine Workers \$6,470,000 in fines and damage suits. One UMW local is being sued for \$750,000 because it would not force its workers into the unsafe Blackwood mine. Another mine in Abingdon, Virginia, is suing for \$750,000, charging an "illegal" strike—"illegal," that is, under Taft-Hartley. Still another Abingdon mine is suing for \$250,000.

• The AFL Building Trades Department announced last October that T-H suits had cost its locals' treasuries "a minimum of \$2 million," with a rapidly growing pileup of cases that might soon double this figure.

• More than 30 damage suits totaling over \$30 million were thrown at the Oil Workers Union (CIO), growing

out of its 1948 strike. In addition, more than 25 injunctions and some 2,000 contempt charges were thrown in for good measure, resulting in arrests of hundreds of officials and rank and filers.

• The 100-year-old International Typographical Union (AFL) was one of the first victims of T-H. In a fight for survival ITU locals all over the country went on strike. The Chicago newspaper strike lasted 22 months. The ITU was beset by harassing lawsuits, contempt charges, etc. The union estimated it spent \$11 million in this defensive struggle and this sum is being added to daily.

• Early this year Armour and Co. filed a \$2,756,000 damage suit against the United Packinghouse Workers.

• In January the Supreme Court upheld a judgment of \$750,000 against the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (unaffiliated). Heaviest damage judgment yet imposed under Taft-Hartley, it penalized the union for picketing the Juneau Spruce Co. of Alaska in a dispute with the International Woodworkers in 1950.

• Fifty lawsuits and labor board cases have piled up against the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (unaffiliated) since passage of T-H. Judgments totaling \$65,000 have already been paid, with another \$665,000 pending—a staggering bill for a union of only 7,000 members.

• The New York Teamsters (AFL) were hit with a \$3 million damage suit.

Mine Union Faces Coercion Charge

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 29.—The NLRB issued an unfair labor practice complaint against the United Mine Workers of America (U. M. W.) today.

NLRB CHARGES UNION BLOCKED MINE EXIT

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, June 29.—The National Labor Relations Board today charged the United Mine Workers of America with blocking the exit of miners from a mine.

N. L. R. B. Accuses N. M. U.

CHICAGO, June 3 (AP)—The National Labor Relations Board today charged the United Mine Workers of America with blocking the exit of miners from a mine.

NLRB COUNSEL CITES UNION FOR COERCION

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Oct. 14.—Counsel for the National Labor Relations Board has issued his first complaint charging a union with restraint and coercion of employees in their right of self-organization. The complaint was received here today from the Cincinnati regional office and is based on charges by the

TAFT LAW INVOKED IN SCHENLEY CASE

AFL Union Ordered to Show Cause in Alleged Interference With Whisky

The Taft-Hartley law was invoked yesterday in a case involving the city's holiday liquor license. The case was heard in the Los Angeles Superior Court. The union is the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL). The case involves the union's alleged interference with the city's holiday liquor license. The union is the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL). The case involves the union's alleged interference with the city's holiday liquor license.

A. & P. SUES BUTCHER UNION

Asks \$150,000 as Trade Loss in Los Angeles Strike

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 8 (UP)—The American Stores Company (A. & P.) today filed a \$150,000 damage suit against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL) for losses suffered because of an authorized strike.



ABOVE: Protection for scabs.



RIGHT: Brutality for strikers.

- The United Auto Workers (CIO) in Indiana is being sued for \$190,000.
- The United Rubber Workers (CIO) in Mississippi is fighting a \$500,000 damage suit.
- The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers — UE — (unaffiliated) have two damage suits on their hands. The Oliver Corp. is suing over walkouts provoked by the company's revocation of stewards' passes and its refusal to handle grievances. Markel Electric Co. in Buffalo, N.Y., is suing UE despite the fact that the company locked out its UE workers when they attended a union meeting last August.

HAD ENOUGH? (These are just a few cases of T-H raids on union treasuries.) Taft-Hartley was designed to sap the workers' strength in a dozen other ways as well. And it is doing just that.

Promotes Violence

It gave the green light to bosses to use violence, slander and company unionism to smash organizing attempts and to bust unions. (These practices had been defined as "unfair" and were punishable under the Wagner Act.) Today, instead, you have "unfair labor practices" charges pending against 1,000

local unions.

Two episodes in the CIO Textile Workers' Southern organizing campaign show how Taft-Hartley not only gives the bosses a free hand, but puts clubs in that hand, to break unions—with the government playing fairy-godfather to the bosses.

Mrs. Edna Martin, TWU organizer, was kidnaped and beaten by four armed men and five women, and threatened with death if she returned to Tallapoosa, Georgia, and attempted to organize the employees of the American Thread Company there. Unfair labor practices charges filed by the union were thrown out on the T-H grounds that the actions of the thugs could not be traced to the employer. (Under the Wagner Act, the employer would have been found guilty of crimes committed by "any person acting in the interest of an employer, directly or indirectly.")

In the Textile Workers' strike against American Enka Corp. in Morristown, Tenn., the company obtained an injunction limiting pickets to six, then rammed an armored division of strikebreakers into the plant. The stage was now set for a Taft-Hartley "representation" elec-

tion. Very democratic, you know—but under T-H, only the scabs are allowed to vote; the striking workers can't. So the boss could use T-H to put the skids under a union that was there, that was strong, that was striking for a better contract and got himself a scab 'union.'

Organization at Standstill

With T-H cutting the ground from under unions in this fashion, the anti-labor weekly U.S. News and World Report (June 6, 1952) could gloat: "Are Unions Slipping? No Growth in Six Years." The article points out that while the labor force has grown by over 5 million since 1946, union membership has been at a standstill in the same period.

The slowdown in union organization is reflected also in the record of the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB, in the last year of the Wagner Act, processed some 7,000 representation elections. NLRB elections after passage of Taft-Hartley were conducted at less than half that pace.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1951, the NLRB ruled in 104 cases of unfair labor practices charged against unions, finding against the unions in

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: *Woodruff Randolph*
 The Oldest Publishers' and
 PRINTED EVERY SATURDAY

Randolph Tells T-H Toll: 6,000 Members, \$11,000,000
 Democrats on Senate Group Appear Sympathetic to His Plea

WASHINGTON, June 11.—Woodruff Randolph, president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (IUMSWA), today told a Senate subcommittee that the Taft-Hartley Act had cost the union 6,000 members and \$11,000,000 in dues.

Randolph, who testified before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, said the union had lost 6,000 members since the act was passed in 1947. He also said the union had lost \$11,000,000 in dues.

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Steel Union Calls Taft-Hartley Act Major Factor in Crisis in Industry
 Murray Report Says It Encouraged Owners to 'Stall' in Bargaining in the Belief Truman Would Invoke Law

By A. E. BARKIN

PHILADELPHIA, May 12.—The steel industry today charged that the Taft-Hartley Act was a major factor in the crisis in the industry.

The report, which was made public today, said the industry had been "encouraged to stall" in bargaining with the union by the act.

The report also said the industry had been "encouraged to stall" in bargaining with the union by the act.

"The Taft-Hartley Act . . . denies the right to strike whenever an object of a strike is to preserve the union—and that right is, of course, more fundamental even than the right to strike for better wages or hours."

— WOODRUFF RANDOLPH,
President of the IUM (AFL)



LOTS TO LOOK at, but little to buy with.

8

out of your pocket

83 per cent of the cases.

Of the representation elections conducted in the same period, unions were chosen in 74 per cent of the cases, with the majority of contests representing jurisdictional disputes rather than new organization. In other words, what you had here was raiding, not organizing—and a juggling of union membership, rather than an increase of union membership.

A report on how the Textile Workers' Southern organizing drive has been faring is even more revealing. Since 1946, the union has lost 123 elections and won only 64 in Southern mills, with 45 petitions dismissed.

The ultimate effect of Taft-Hartley in

action is a two-sided coin: On the one side, bosses' profits piling up; on the other, workers and their families suffering.

Increased Speedup

Another feature of the Taft-Hartley era is the unprecedented speeding up of workers in all branches of production, with no corresponding increase in workers' earnings. In the year 1950, output per man-hour increased an average of 6.6 per cent to reach a new all-time high. But that same year, workers' real hourly wages declined one-half per cent.

Increased speedup meant more injuries on the job, as well as a general undermining of the health of a whole generation of workers. The rate of injuries per million man-hours worked in December, 1950, was 14 per cent higher than at the close of 1949.

Under the UAW's contract with General Motors, GM workers turned out 18.9 per cent more cars in 1950 than in 1949, entitling them to a 31-cent hourly increase. They got four cents, while GM increased its profits by 61 per cent.

Pay Down, Prices Up

While the actual take-home pay of the average industrial worker declined by nearly \$1 from January to November, 1951, according to the U.S. Department of Labor (in terms of 1939 dollars), the cost of living has risen 11 per cent since June, 1950.

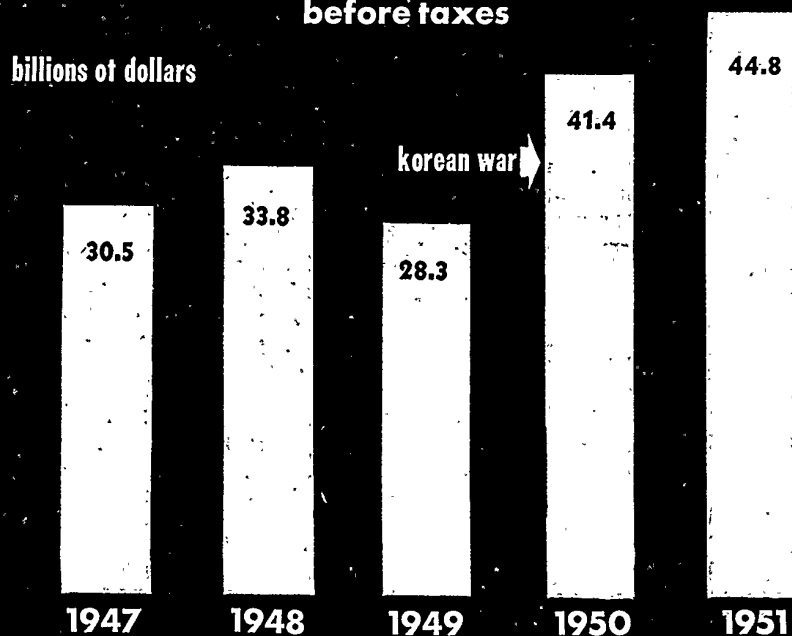
And what about the masses of unorganized workers, singled out as the beneficiaries of a law that was to liberate them from the clutches of the big, bad unions?

Unorganized workers at a Southern textile mill got a taste of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 when their boss ordered them to take an \$8 weekly pay cut or "get the hell out." The boss put through a speedup order at the same time, increasing weavers' loads from 20 to 30 looms. "All of you that don't want to report for work at the pay I offer," the manager barked, "may get their pay and leave the mill. When you get hungry, don't ask me for food, for I wouldn't give one of you a crumb of bread."

"That is an example of what unorganized workers may expect," commented the late Van A. Bittner, CIO organizing director. "With the passage of the Taft-Hartley act, mill owners are going to take every advantage to get tough by increasing work loads and reducing wages. We find the unorganized workers are fast waking up to the fact that a strong union is their only salvation."

CORPORATE PROFITS SINCE TAFT-HARTLEY before taxes

billions of dollars



Some unions keep fighting . . . and winning!

**One thing T-H couldn't outlaw:
The strength of unified workers**

THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT LAW of 1947 was more than just a legal gift package of union-busting gimmicks from Taft and Hartley with love and kisses to the bosses. Between the lines of the 30-page law was an unwritten invitation to management to get tough with workers—legally or not.

As soon as the bill became law, employers declared open season on union members. At the Grunewald Plating Corp., in Chicago, for example, while miners, northwest lumber workers and other unionists were still staging protest strikes and demonstrations against passage of the act, the chairman of the United Auto Workers (CIO) negotiating committee was called into the front office.

"A management representative asked me, a leader of the union, to single out so-called troublemakers to be fired," Yemen P. Thompson, the UAW man, reported to his fellow-unionists later. "I told him neither I nor the union would ever tolerate that. I was reminded that I could be fired and was told to stop smoking in the toilet. So this is Taft-Hartley in action."

Throughout the U.S. that summer of 1947, union men and women were learning the fight against Taft-Hartley would have to begin on the shop level. Management sniping against shop conditions like rest periods, safety protection, anti-speedup guarantees—and smoking in the toilet—was being carried out simultaneously with the frontal attack against the right to strike, picketing, union security and high wages.

In this undercover warfare, the strength and militancy of the rank-and-file became the most decisive factor. Thousands of Taft-Hartley skirmishes, unreported in the press, were won by workers who fought hard, stubbornly and with great courage to protect and

extend their union conditions.

The five years of Taft-Hartley have produced major successes for the employers. The trojan horse non-Communist affidavit issue set off costly and weakening inner-union fights and raiding. . . . But the unions expelled from CIO in a gust of Taft-Hartley hysteria have survived and gone on to chalk up important organizing and collective bargaining victories.

The law stunted union growth and stalled CIO's Operation Dixie. . . . But CIO failures in the South led to a sharper awareness among progressive-led unions of the need for Negro-white unity.

A comparatively small but sturdy union, the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union, went south and organized 10,000 men-haden Negro fishermen. Led by William Hood, militant secretary of Ford Local 600, union members from all over the U.S. gathered in Cincinnati to form the Natl. Negro Labor Council and began making history in the fight for jobs and upgrading of Negro workers.

Some labor statesmen decided they could "live with Taft-Hartley." . . . But other, more far-seeing leaders never gave up the fight. John L. Lewis saw in the act "the first ugly savage thrust of fascism in America" and led his union



TAFT-HARTLEY TARGET: West Coast longshoremen's hiring hall (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—unaffiliated).



STRIKING COPPER MINERS. (Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—unaffiliated) block freight train with their bodies in railroad track sitdown.

to successive victories over the coal operators. Behind him was the unshakable strength of over 600,000 miners who knew from years of frequently bloody struggle just how precious was their right to strike.

Tennessee miner Hobert Cadle, living in a shabby 3-room frame house in the Cumberland mountains with his wife and eight kids, earnestly explained to reporters in February 1950 what made members of the United Mine Workers stay out on strike in defiance of Taft-Hartley injunctions, court fines and threats of imprisonment:

"If it's necessary to stay out, we'll stay out. That's the only way we've got to fight the big men. It's the only way we've got to protect our freedom."

The fight against Taft-Hartley was very clear to leaders and rank-and-file members alike of the AFL Intl. Typographical Union. "It's a tradition among printers that when a non-union man is brought into a shop," ITU Vice. Pres. Elmer Brown commented, "it's like turning a skunk loose at a tea party—everybody walks out." Challenging Taft-Hartley was no tea party for the printers, but they won their struggle to safeguard a 100-year old tradition against working with 'skunks'.

Some strikes were lost. . . . Those that were won took harder fighting, but Ford workers striking against speedup, West Coast longshoremen battling successfully in defense of their hiring hall, printers walking picketlines in Chicago for 22 months, miners announcing that "Taft-Hartley won't dig coal," steel-

workers shutting down the nation's basic industry with triggerlike precision, hard rock miners smashing through the wage freeze, building trades workers safeguarding the closed shop, rebellious East Coast longshoremen unsettling the crown on King Joe Ryan's graying head and making the shipowners come through each year with better terms—all these workers and hundreds of thousands more got in their licks at Taft-Hartley.

Taft-Hartley turned the NLRB into a lawyer's nightmare . . . But labor won its three-year fight to oust General Counsel Robert N. Denham, who promptly took an office with an NAM attorney—home at last.

One of the worst defeats suffered by the Taft-Hartley crew came on the issue of the union shop. When the law was passed, Robert A. Taft cockily described it as a declaration of independence for workers "held in captivity" by wicked unions. Four years later, in October 1951, Taft quietly agreed to an amendment dropping the law's requirement of a union shop election before unions could sign such provisions with employers. The reason? In some 40,000 cumbersome, expensive elections, workers voted over 90% in favor of the union shop.

As Taft-Hartley rounded out five years, there was no sign that the law had succeeded in cowing American workers. Instead, in June 1952—fifth anniversary of the law's passage—the rank and file was busting out all over. And some of the most stodgy, conserva-

tive leaders in the AFL were getting the point.

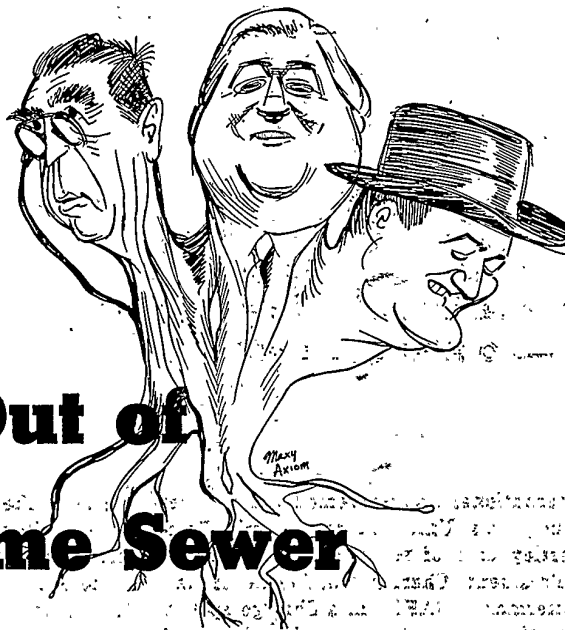
Pres. William F. Schnitzler of the AFL Bakery & Confectionary Workers told a press conference in San Francisco June 30: the top leaders of the AFL were "deeply concerned" over the growing "militancy, resentment and dissatisfaction" among its eight million members.

"Today there are strikes in industries where there hasn't been a walkout in 50 years," he revealed. "Fights in unions are taking place at every level. There is a growing militancy among the rank and file. There is a toughness, a violent feeling. Our people seem to want to disagree rather than to agree as they did in the past."

"In some of our own locals," Schnitzler went on, "the rank and file are actually rioting over such things as negotiations. For years, the membership went along with whatever the leaders recommended. Now they vote down officials. They show complete dissatisfaction with things as they are."

The AFL leader ascribed the "general dissatisfaction" to the "growing spread between earnings and prices. Mass insecurity best describes the attitude of the people at this time. They can't stretch their dollars to meet the high cost of living."

Workers who can't stretch dollar bills reach out for picket signs. Five years of union life under Taft-Hartley shows that when working people are fighting mad, organized and unified, Taft-Hartley can't beat them.



From Out of The Same Sewer

... come these new and bigger threats to labor

THERE WERE MANY in 1947 who thought CIO President Philip Murray was indulging in oratory when he warned that the Taft-Hartley law was "one big step towards fascism" in the United States. But there are few working men and women today who have not felt the ravaging effects of this legislation on their working conditions and daily existence.

For in the wake of Taft-Hartley came the wage freeze that kept their wages trailing far behind skyrocketing living costs, the program of speed up that is placing back breaking work-loads on their shoulders without increasing their earnings.

Now new legislative proposals place even greater threats on the liberties of working people and the existence of their unions.

Humphrey Proposals

Senator Hubert Humphrey, who was elected with labor's vote because he pledged to fight for the repeal of Taft-Hartley, heads the list with proposals that could result in government control of unions. Under the guise of "fighting communism," Humphrey's proposals—some already embodied in the McCarran bills, and others to come in proposals of the Senate labor management subcommittee which he heads—would deprive unions of bargaining rights if their policies and programs were not acceptable. Workers would be told what kind of unions they could belong to, who should lead their unions, and what their union policies should be. In essence, Humphrey, who heads Truman's

"liberal" wing, has a program that avowedly would bar any union "following the 'Communist line' from bargaining rights under NLRB." Translating this into workers' language it means outlawing any union that fights for wage increases, against speedup, for equality of Negro and white workers, and raises a voice for peace. It means recognizing only those unions that toe the mark set by the government and the employers.

Humphrey's subcommittee has already set as its target the unions expelled from the CIO, and investigations of these unions are now going on in Washington to lay the groundwork for new legislation curbing the rights of unions.

The McCarran Bills

Bills S-1975 and S-2548, bearing McCarran's name, have already incorporated in them many of the Humphrey suggestions. These bills are also being pushed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, General Electric and other employers. Here are some of the provisions of these two bills:

1. They would make it unlawful for any member of any organization designated as subversive under the McCarran Act to be an officer or representative of any union. Any union having such an officer or representative would lose its NLRB certification.

2. They would extend Section 9H of the Taft-Hartley law to empower the government to set up machinery to make lists of "approved" or "disapproved" candidates for union office. Thus, the government would decide

who might lead unions, and the government would have power to punish unions which elected the "wrong" officers.

3. They would empower an employer to discharge without liability any employee "who voluntarily continues as a member of an organization duly designated by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive, or who has actively concealed his membership in such an organization. . ." It also empowers an employer to discharge without liability any employee who refuses to be a "friendly" witness before a government witchhunting committee and who refuses to act as a stoolpigeon against his fellow workers.

The Smith Bill

Less subtle, but also of great danger, is the bill introduced by Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia. This bill would, in effect, take away labor's most powerful weapon—the right to strike. Here in brief, is how it would do it:

1. If a union takes a strike vote and the President declares the strike a "national emergency," the Attorney General is empowered to get a court injunction preventing the strike for 80 days.

2. During the 80-day period a board of inquiry appointed by the President shall investigate the facts of the dispute and shall report back. This board will have no power to make recommendations.

3. If the dispute is not settled within these 80 days the property of the company and the union will be put indefinitely under court-appointed receivers.

4. The powers of the receiver in regard to operating the plant are limited. No changes can be made; the status quo must be maintained. But the receiver's powers in regard to operating the union are unlimited. He can, if he wishes, confiscate money which is earmarked for strike benefits, close down union buildings, stop union activities, end publication of the union paper.

5. While the union is under receivership it would be unlawful and in criminal contempt of court for anyone "to coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with, or encourage any person, to interfere by lockout, strike, slowdown, concerted absences from work, or other interruption with the operation of such property."

Under the above provisions the company could go on making profits while the union would be paralyzed at every turn until it gave in to management's terms. "This," said the CIO, "would destroy the trade union movement."

"If the Taft-Hartley Law is invoked to end the steel strike, it would be equivalent to the creation of a neo-fascist movement in America, of which R. Alphonso Taft, with his jackboots and velvet pants, would be the willing tool and symbol."

—JOHN L. LEWIS

WITH THE ABOVE statement, John L. Lewis demonstrated the United Mine Workers' unity with the striking steel workers by offering a \$10,000,000 loan to Philip Murray, president of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO).

It is demonstrations of such unity which provide a key to labor's primary need today—a united labor movement. This alone will beat back the anti-union surge that has been making steady headway in our country since Taft-Hartley. It is the only force that will halt the passage of new legislation directed against the American people and their social and welfare gains under the New Deal.

As we have seen in our five years' survey of operations of Taft-Hartley, labor was not always uniformly clear on how to fight this brutal measure. Some unions even tried to make use of it to raid other unions. An understanding has been growing up, however, among some thoughtful, conservative union leaders that such a course is extremely dangerous. These men have begun to realize that an attack against one segment of labor impairs the strength of all.

Won't Buy Red-Baiting

Aside from the fact that the total power of labor is weakened by such civil war, precedents are set up that are used against all labor eventually. It was this understanding that led the veteran labor editor, J. B. S. Hardman, former editor of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' journal, *Advance*, to tell Senator Hubert Humphrey at hearings he has been conducting looking toward more repressive legislation that "not many (in labor) will buy anti-unionism disguised as anti-communism."

Dangerous Precedents

An even more positive stand has been taken by several highly placed labor leaders. Two of these were directed at the U.S. Supreme Court's upholding of the \$750,000 fine leveled against the

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the Seattle Taft-Hartley case of secondary boycotting.

President Charles MacGowan of the Boilermakers (AFL), in a Chicago speech last March 8, delivered before heads of the AFL, Railway Employees Department, warned that political differences with the ILWU must not confuse the rest of labor, since "if they can legally do it to that organization, they can like-

cerned, the wraps haven't yet been taken off Taft-Hartley. It is a time-bomb geared to explode with its full force at some future date. As labor writer A. H. Raskin of the New York Times put it recently:

"No one can tell what would happen to unions under the law if a major depression created widespread unemployment and encouraged employers to avail themselves of all the weapons the

THE ONLY ANSWER...

real Labor

wise impose it on the most conservative labor organization."

And President Dan Tobin of the powerful teamsters union, writing in the *International Teamster* last February, stated: "Those of us who do not sympathize with Harry Bridges... should not be blinded to the implications of the case which this union lost in the highest court of the land."

Even more forthright was the position of Hugo Ernst, president of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL), in support of Abram Flaxer, president of the United Public Workers, who had refused to turn over his union's membership lists to the McCarran committee.

To be sure, as far as employers are concerned, there never was much doubt in their minds on this issue. They look upon unions merely from the viewpoint of their effectiveness.

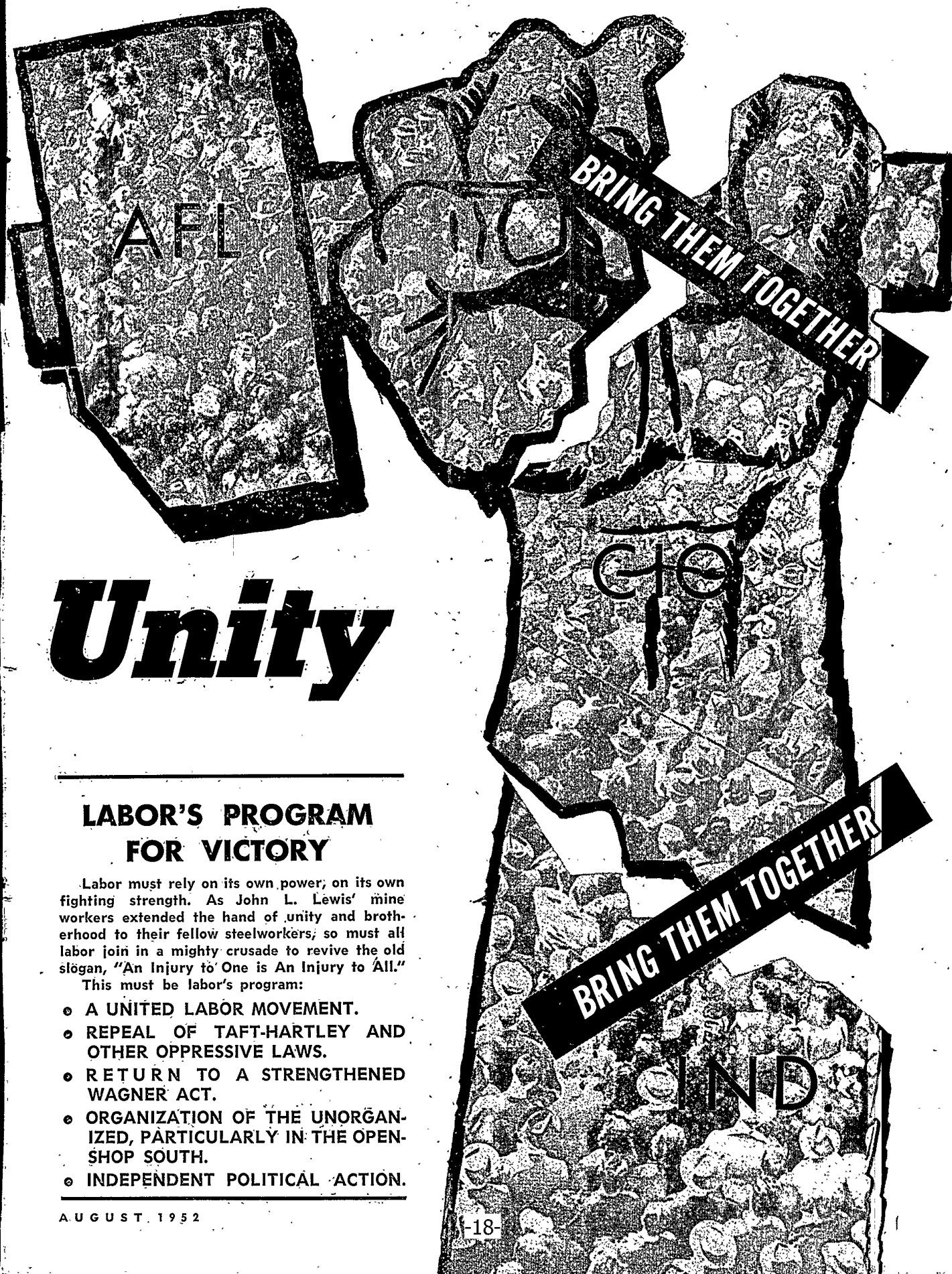
As far as the big employers are con-

Taft-Hartley law puts in their hands to undermine unions."

Unions have learned the hard way—in five years of taking it on the chin—that disunity doesn't pay. Only through aggressive, united action can labor halt the drive toward war and the blanketing of our democratic rights.

Nor can labor depend on the old-line, politicians to win its battles for it. Not on Senator Taft, surely, nor on General Eisenhower, Republican nominee for President, who recently called the Taft-Hartley Act "the best so far." And as for that "friend of labor" in the White House, labor will forget at its peril his unvaried record of talking one thing and doing another.

Though Taft-Hartley was passed over his veto in 1947, President Truman has used the law nine times to break strikes. And he has never done anything to fulfill his promise made in 1948 to get the law repealed.



AFL

BRING THEM TOGETHER

CIO

BRING THEM TOGETHER

IND

Unity

LABOR'S PROGRAM FOR VICTORY

Labor must rely on its own power, on its own fighting strength. As John L. Lewis' mine workers extended the hand of unity and brotherhood to their fellow steelworkers; so must all labor join in a mighty crusade to revive the old slogan, "An Injury to One is An Injury to All."

This must be labor's program:

- A UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT.
- REPEAL OF TAFT-HARTLEY AND OTHER OPPRESSIVE LAWS.
- RETURN TO A STRENGTHENED WAGNER ACT.
- ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED, PARTICULARLY IN THE OPEN-SHOP SOUTH.
- INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.



They Kept it in the Family

By MIKE REED

TO A TOTAL STRANGER like myself the Du Ponts of Delaware have always seemed to be one big happy family. I admit they have their troubles now and then, but what family doesn't? Only the other day, for instance, the U.S. government summoned all 186 members of the family—including 96 children—to appear in court. The Du Ponts, it seems, have not been playing ball according to the rules. In fact, the Anti-trust Division of the Justice Department has charged them with hogging the ball. Now this is one hell of a way to treat a family that made the ball, owns the field and pays the referee's salary. The government is going so far as to suggest that maybe the Du Ponts are getting too big for their britches. To cut 'em down to size, it wants to tear General Motors and U.S. Rubber

right out of the bosom of the family.

The fuss is being kicked up at an awfully awkward time for the Du Ponts. This year, you know, is the 150th anniversary of the day old Founding Father du Pont came over here from France and set up shop on the Brandywine to make himself some nice black powder for blowing up people and things. All this newspaper publicity will kind of sour the taste of that big birthday cake.

As I get it from the newspapers, this is how it all happened. The Du Ponts, who know a good thing when they see it, managed to throw a saddle on General Motors back in 1917 when it was just a frisky young colt. A little later the family hitched up U.S. Rubber to the tandem. Naturally, Du Ponts took the driver's seat on both companies.

And naturally, too, since it was all in the family, one Du Pont lent a helping hand to another. Why shouldn't Du Pont's U.S. Rubber sell tires and tubes cheaper to Du Pont's General Motors than to any other auto manufacturer? And why shouldn't all three branches of the family swap trade information, secrets, patents and stuff like that? Those Du Ponts are no dopes. Right here they had as sweet a little setup as a man could want for a closed and guaranteed market complete with secret rebates and preferential prices. No outsiders needed or wanted, thank you!

It all worked out pretty neatly. Money jingled from one pocket of the family into another, somehow managing to increase all the time. Take GM, for instance. Today it's the biggest industrial operation in the country and the big-



gest maker of motor cars in the world. Any family has right to be proud when one of its members can ring up \$1 billion in profits in just one year.

Or look at the Du Pont company itself—the world's biggest chemical outfit. It's hard to name a pie it doesn't have a finger in—rayon, nylon, orlon, dacron, dyes, liquors, paints, rubber and plastic coatings, neoprene, tetraethyl lead. Lord knows where to stop the list—it's 1,200 products long and it takes 75,000 workers in 80 plants to make 'em.

One thing I almost forgot to mention, maybe because the Du Ponts themselves are so blushing shy about it. It's explosives, the very same shoe-string old E. I. Du Pont himself started with way back in 1802. Out of sentimental reasons, no doubt, the family's still making blowups, right down to the very last word in atom bombs and hydrogen bombs.

You might think a family so busy making things would be too busy to bother with politics. But not those Du Ponts! They have too strong a sense of social responsibility. Way back in the 1930s the Du Ponts supports the American Liberty League and they've kept right at it even though F.D.R. is long since gone. They found time—and money too—for Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, an organization that specializes in publishing pro-fascist and anti-Semitic literature.

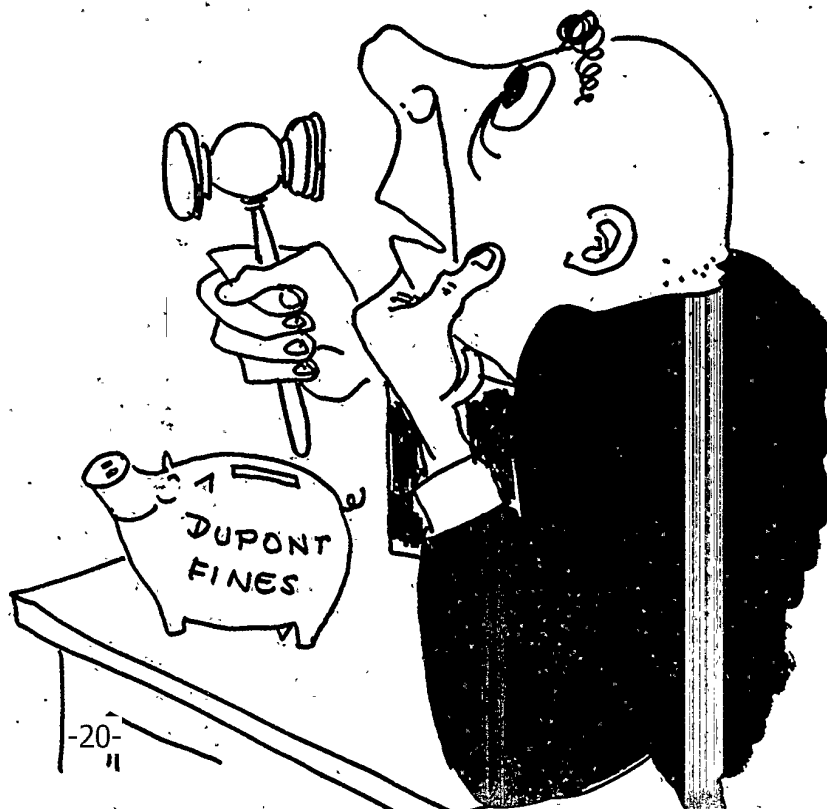
It's a big family, so you'd expect to find room for political differences inside it. I guess that's the reason you

find some Du Ponts siphoning dough to the Republicans while other Du Ponts ladle it out to the Democrats. That way too, of course, you can always be sure your bread'll fall butter-side up.

Today son-in-law Crawford H. Greenewalt sits on the throne and he too is darned mad at the government over this anti-trust suit. It seems Crawford's 14-year-old son has been drawn into the case because of some li'l old U.S. Rubber preferred that Papa gave him as a present at birth. The government-

has "gone too far," says Crawford, when it accuses children of conspiracy. Why, it's almost a case of guilt by association!

I'm not fretting too much, though, over this shadow cast by the government's suit. I'm quite confident the Du Ponts will come smiling through. After all, this is the 19th time an anti-trust suit has faced the family, and no Du Pont has ever yet been downed. What does a \$65,000 fine mean in the life of a \$6-billion family?



After the first spectacular successes of CIO's organizing drives, 'fair weather friends' of labor began to desert . . .

When Little Steel Declared War

By LEN DE CAUX

WHERE I SAT in 1937, as CIO's publicity director, was on one of the dizziest roller-coaster rides in "public relations" history.

After the General Motors victory and the U.S. Steel agreement, the press trundled CIO up to a great height—with giddy vistas of expanding power, till John L. Lewis should become first labor president of the United States. The gaudy car of its joy-ride for CIO became a regular bandwagon. The CIO and its leaders were oh, so smart . . . and so-o successful!

True, even on the upward hoist, there were also ungreaased screams of alarm from straining cogs—as the workers cashed in on CIO's successes, or sat down on the job till they did.

Then suddenly, in May, when Little Steel declared hot and bloody war on CIO, the roller-coaster of CIO's "public relations" plunged downward with stomach-lifting speed.

The press barkers who had ballyhooed CIO's ascent now yelled that its leaders were power-drunk, irresponsible, red dictators hurtling to their doom before an "enraged public opinion."

The "liberal" writers and politicians, so starry-eyed at CIO's rise, turned misty eyes away from its downfall—muttering that CIO "had gone too far."

But, before fall, the roller-coaster tracks had leveled off. The barkers' doomful croaks became muted. The liberals dried their eyes. And lo and behold, CIO was coasting along as whole as ever, and even haler and heartier—an eminently successful labor movement.

WHAT WERE THE ACTUALITIES that the boss press distorted like the crazy mirrors of a carnival?

The most basic fact was simply stated by John L. Lewis—in words which have supplied this magazine with its

CHICAGO MASSACRE, Memorial Day, 1937.



name. In April 1937, he told a Detroit celebration of the Chrysler sitdown victory: "Labor in America is on the march."

Labor's great forward march of 1937 was no series of easy triumphs. It had its sweeping advances, but also its grim struggles and setbacks. And it pushed on undaunted through the thickest tear-gas clouds of lying, red-baiting propaganda.

CIO's first big victories lifted a pall of anti-union terror from millions of American workers. No longer scared of their bosses, they organized, struck and demanded union recognition and decent conditions. Sitdowns were all the craze.

Hundreds of thousands of auto workers won their demands through sitdown strikes. And, early in 1937, sitdowns were also pulled by workers (AFL as well as CIO) of almost every trade, including hosiery, shoe, hotel, restaurant, steel, transport and tobacco workers, seamen, shipbuilders, clerks, printers, pressmen, janitors, electricians, Woolworth store girls, rug weavers, watchmakers, garbage collectors, Postal and Western Union messengers, farm hands, bedmakers, food packers, movie operators and gravediggers.

Never had there been such union ferment. At every CIO office, the phone kept ringing with calls from self-organized or striking workers who demanded CIO charters. Most didn't even know or care which union they should join; they just "wanted in" to CIO.

In this period, CIO launched its second big top-directed drive, the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Sidney Hillman's Clothing Workers were its foster parents, as the Mine Workers had been for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. In a few months, TWOC had contracts covering 100,000 workers.

EVEN WALL STREET paid tribute to CIO. "For the first time in the history of the United States," said Barron's financial weekly, "industrial management is faced with a labor movement which is smart and courageous, wealthy and successful—a movement, moreover, which is winning its battles by applying a shrewd imitation of big business organization and technique."

It speculated that "history may eventually show that this was the decisive moment in the collapse of the American anti-labor bloc."

The anti-New Deal Supreme Court—which President Roosevelt, with CIO aid, was out to enlarge and reform—heard the marching feet of labor's advancing hosts. Not daring to deny union rights which the workers had already won for themselves, it upheld,



TOM GIRDLER of Republic, loud mouthpiece of Little Steel, waves hands bloody with the lives of ten workers.

in April 1937, the constitutionality of the Wagner Act.

Some, putting cart before horse, have credited the Wagner Act with CIO's success. But the labor act was openly flouted and little enforced until after CIO's early and greatest organizing victories. Even after ratification, the law's delays were such that gains through struggle usually came long before final rulings were enforced.

Early in 1937, the CIO was winning every strike and every election. It had signed up the biggest monopolies in autos, electrical, steel, and its drives were booming everywhere. Moreover, a big swing was under way from AFL to CIO.

By May, the National Maritime Union had been formed, out of a left-led rank-and-file revolt against the shipowners and corrupt AFL officials; the Transport Workers, also left wing, had switched from the AFL Machinists to CIO and begun the rapid rise that soon made it supreme on the New York transit system; the strong and progressive Fur Workers had swung from AFL to CIO.

Hosiery, leather, boot and shoe, office and optical workers, technicians, retail clerks, inland boatmen, machine workers (from IAM into UE) were among the many other organized workers who had joined the CIO procession. And on the West Coast, the AFL longshoremen and woodworkers were on their way into CIO.

Right-wingers like Philip Murray and Hillman, at first so leery of CIO leftism and militancy were treading on air.

And even David Dubinsky was swept along by the CIO current. His Ladies Garment Workers Union had profited greatly from the general CIO drive, and its 1937 convention resounded to ovations for Lewis and hosannas to CIO.

BUT LABOR'S MEAT was the bosses' poison. While the workers rejoiced at their gains, big business plotted a campaign of suppression, deception and violence to "stop the CIO."

The pretext for this union-busting drive was the Little Steel strike, begun late in May by 80,000 workers of the Republic, Inland and Youngstown companies and the Johnstown plant of Bethlehem Steel.

With Republic's Tom Girdler as their loud mouthpiece, the Little Steel companies—with big capital behind them—proclaimed themselves saviors of capitalism from the "communist CIO," and began a ruthless anti-union war.

Its temper was soon shown by the infamous Memorial Day massacre. A peaceful picketing demonstration was attacked outside Republic's South Chicago plant, 10 workers were killed (shot in the back), and scores more injured for life. The gassing, clubbing and shooting of workers spread to other steel towns too, until the toll rose to 18 killed (all on the strikers' side) and hundreds gravely wounded.

Governors, mayors, sheriffs, police were suborned—often with hard cash, the LaFollette committee later revealed—to perpetrate these atrocities.

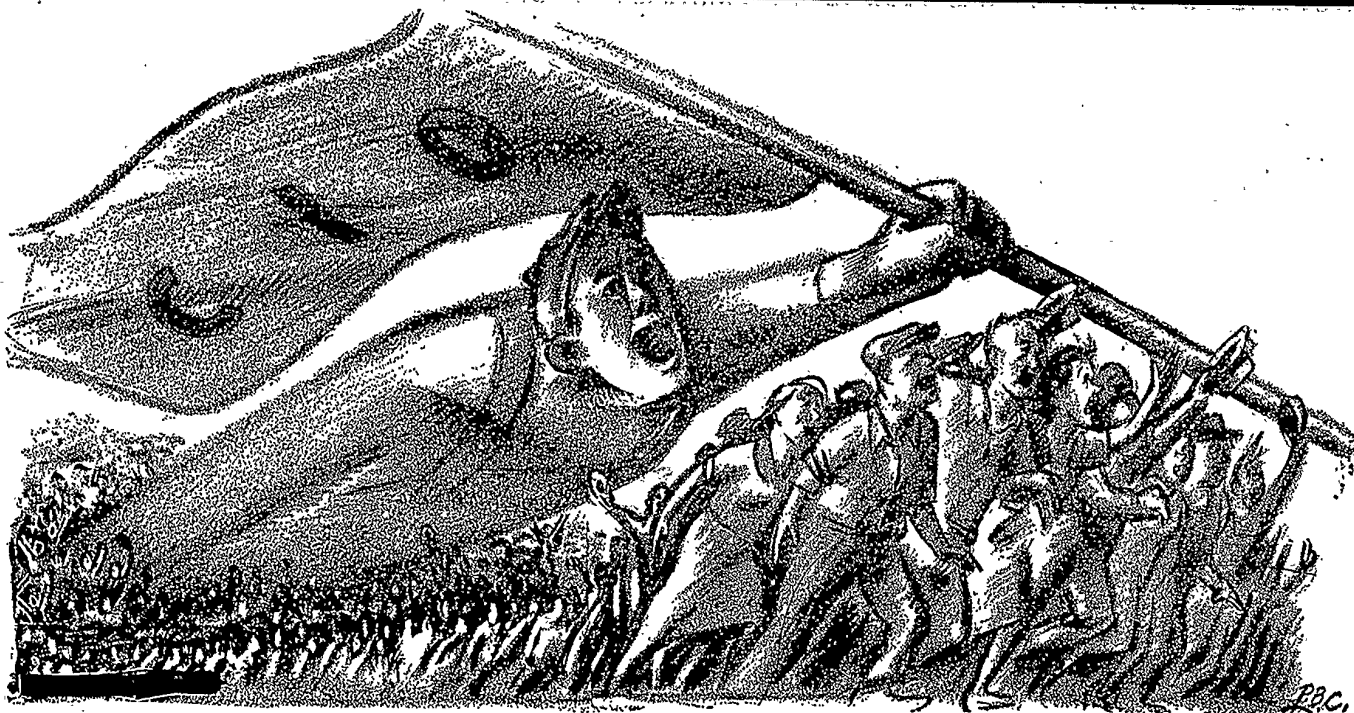
Many millions were spent to buy "public opinion," through so-called "citizens' committees," advertising, and wholesale bribery of opinion-forming agencies—though the press needed no more than orders from its big-business owners to swing into the anti-CIO campaign.

"Reds, irresponsibility, violence" were its chief catch-cries, though SWOC was a right-wing union, Murray a paragon of union responsibility, and almost all the violence from the bosses' side.

THE HUE AND CRY against CIO rose in volume as the strike continued. It was comparable in scope and intensity to the recent redbaiting hysteria against militant labor.

Then, as it became clearer that the strikers, for all their courage and staunchness, would win no contract victory, the hullabaloo turned into a cock-a-whoop that CIO had been "stopped" and would soon collapse.

With one accord, CIO's fair-weather friends began to desert. They wailed that CIO's success had gone to its head, that it had defied public opinion, that



Drawing from a pamphlet distributed by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

it must "clean house" and learn to co-operate more with the bosses.

Even President Roosevelt, rebuffing Lewis' demands that he aid the workers who had put him in power, publicly called down "a plague on both your houses." To which Lewis bitingly replied: "It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table, and who has been sheltered in labor's house, to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace."

THIS ANTI-CIO campaign went far beyond the immediate strikebreaking purposes of Little Steel. It became an employing-class drive to break or domesticate the CIO; to weaken and divide its unions, to scare the leaders into cracking down on militants and company-unionizing their policies.

It succeeded in giving some CIO top leaders—though not the redoubtable Lewis—the coldest of feet.

With the failure of the Little Steel strike, Murray began a cold purge of left-wing organizers who had built SWOC and borne the heat of the battle. In TWOC, Hillman tightened his screen against "reds" and urged more footsie with the bosses and less militancy.

In the Auto Workers, Dubinsky's man Jay Lovestone (a renegade Communist) towed the foolish Homer Martin further and further into red-baiting factionalism.

And throughout CIO, a new stoolpigeon fungus sprouted—as sneaks and connivers emulated Lovestone by fingering as "reds" the most militant of CIO's new unionists.

It was not CIO, however, but the anti-CIO campaign, that began to col-

lapse by summer's end. The propaganda lies had collided with some stubborn facts, and with millions of equally stubborn workers.

All through the drive to shoot and shout CIO to death, it had been growing steadily and fast. Even SWOC spurred ahead and soon rebuilt its strength in Little Steel. And elsewhere strikes, Labor Board elections and union agreements were won in almost unbroken succession.

The swing from AFL to CIO also continued, and many new unions were formed. Into CIO came the West Coast longshoremen ("marching inland" to organize thousands of warehousemen), the marine cooks and stewards, marine engineers, NMU, woodworkers, Newspaper Guild, federal workers, state, county and municipal workers, cannery and agricultural workers, barbers, laundry, toy and furniture workers.

The swing was such that even Joe Ryan of the AFL longshoremen secretly dickered with CIO, and Harry Lundberg of the AFL sailors was almost pushed onto the CIO bandwagon.

BY OCTOBER 1937, when CIO held its first national conference, in Atlantic City, it was an unqualified success. It had come to stay in the major basic industries. It had added three million new members to those with which it had started. It had won a billion dollars in wage increases and countless other gains in shorter hours, vacations, seniority, job security, etc.

This triumphant gathering was the high point of the CIO's unity honeymoon. Lewis was kingpin, of course, hailed by all for his magnificent lead-

ership. Murray, a less outstanding contributor during the year's difficulties, modestly basked in the reflected glory of his chief. And Hillman's tension dissolved in smiles, as he congratulated everyone from right to left.

Like other "old heads," Hillman now took the attitude that the "reds" had won their spurs by organizing, had played a needed and creditable part in CIO success, and would soon be tamed by leadership responsibilities.

A tough-looking, rough-spoken sailor, Joe Curran of the NMU, was one "red" who chilled some nervous right-wing spines. But, in the sociabilities, Hillman took his measure. "Don't worry about Joe," he said. "He has to act red in his setup. But he's all right; we can handle Joe."

Of Harry Bridges, on the other hand, I never heard it said that he could be "handled." The "wild man from the West" was the center of much curious attention, and his line was too militantly rank-and-file for the top leaders' taste.

Still, Bridges too was heartily welcomed, with fatherly indulgence for his youthful impetuosity—and more calculating respect for the substantial strength he and the ILWU represented as key organizers of the CIO up and down the West Coast.

On the whole, right-left differences were submerged in the overwhelming spirit of enthusiastic unity. CIO'ers of every hue slapped each other's backs and fraternized with the utmost cordiality. The anti-red stoolpigeons found few customers to scare.

Even Dubinsky had to cloak his red-phobia in the convivialities. Though one



DURING THE BUSY ORGANIZING DAYS. Len De Caux, John L. Lewis, Philip Murray.

of the founding Big Three, he was already sliding out of CIO's leadership, less intent on building its strength than on bringing it into the conservative AFL.

The only real sourpuss was Homer Martin, who arrived late and secreted himself in factional conniving. But he was eyed askance by most, as out of step with CIO's united progress.

THE MILITANT POLICIES of progressive unity espoused by both Lewis and the left had proved so successful and beneficial to the workers that no responsible CIO'er dared openly challenge them.

Having pioneered the industrial organization which CIO carried to success, progressives and left-wingers, including a stout core of Communists, had everywhere thrown themselves wholeheartedly into building a strong and united CIO.

They had naturally risen to many positions of leadership in the new CIO unions—though in the top-run SWOC and TWOC, Murray and Hillman had barred them from the official influence to which their invaluable aid entitled them.

Through the tough days of 1937's big anti-CIO campaign, the left-wingers did not retreat or duck out like many on the right. They never expected the bosses to yield without a fight, and they were ready for it.

When CIO sorely needed the impetus of new accessions to keep its great drive rolling, the lefts led union after union in which they had influence into its ranks. And in the still unorganized industries, it was they who created the organizational nucleus from which new CIO unions grew.

Nobody at the Atlantic City conference could discount the great and often decisive part played by the left in CIO's success; and Lewis, the outstanding leader, symbol and tonesetter, denied no CIO builders their due.

THE WHOLE WORLD had now to recognize that CIO had arrived, as a powerful, progressive movement of millions of workers, with growing political influence.

The New Deal administration was again courting a movement to which it owed so much, but which it had been ready to sell short during the anti-CIO hysteria. In all CIO centers, there were beginnings of more independent political action; through Labor's Non-Partisan League and many outright labor candidates.

In New York, for instance, Michael Quill of the Transport Workers—then an outspoken left-winger known as "Red Mike"—was one of several Labor Party men elected to the city council.

But meanwhile, America faced a new economic crisis. CIO had scored its first triumphs in relatively good times. But during 1937, business began to slip. By fall, the industries where CIO was strongest were laying off thousands of workers.

CIO had now, therefore, to gear its plans to increasing unemployment and depression. It faced a new and tough test. Again wiseacres began predicting its fall.

How CIO weathered the 1937-38 depression, consolidating its strength, fighting for the jobless, and gaining new power through aggressive legislative and political action, will be told in next month's article.



By ROBERT MENDE

Facts of Life . . .

"There's something bigger than money," said the politician.
"Yeah," replied a steel worker, "bills."

* * *

Polled . . .

To err is Truman.

* * *

W. Averill Harriman speaks with the courage of his investments.

* * *

Many union members call Senator Robert A. Taft by his initials.

* * *

Contempt . . .

One of the earliest contempt-of-court citations in a labor trial, occurred 145 years ago, when a worker was fined five dollars in a Philadelphia court for shouting, "A scab is a shelter for lice."

* * *

Assembly Lines . . .

"The foreman is an angel. He's always up in air harping on something."

* * *

The People's Proverbs . . .

Negro—The black of the eye and the white, how can they be parted?

Polish—Beauty is in the eye of the beholder.

Jewish—A man who is his own physician has a fool for a patient.

* * *

Din at Dinner . . .

"My boss took me to lunch with him," said the stenographer. "When the soup came there was a bug swimming in it. I screamed, 'Waiter, get rid of this insect!'"

"So what happened?"

"They threw my boss down two flights of steps."

**Fishermen in the Southland swarm
into Fur Union and warn Klansmen
'You can burn our shacks, but remember . . .**



'The Wind Blows Sparks'

By JAMES WISHART

CIO'S OPERATION DIXIE could have been a real success. Workers in the South can be organized. They will flock into unions when honest and militant policies prevail.

This fact was brought home vividly to the recent convention of the International Fur & Leather Workers' Union in Chicago by 60 Negro fishermen from Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

They came as spokesmen for 10,000 menhaden fishermen who have just built themselves a solid union with the help of the IFLWU.

In Chicago, these fishermen told the story of the old days before the union came into their Klan-infested communities. They told of the relentless exploitation they had suffered from the fishing companies that took the profits of the \$25,000,000-a-year menhaden catch

(used in the production of industrial oils and fertilizers).

They told of misery and danger at sea in the 170-foot fishing boats . . . how they were jammed into living quarters where the stench of ammonia was strong enough to corrode coins overnight.

They told of white captains who chiseled and cheated their crews out of thousands of dollars every season. They reported \$300 or \$400 pay for a full season of hazardous work on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast with work days running to 15, 16 and 18 hours.

"To look at some of the captains' backyards," said one Negro delegate from Virginia, "you'd think you were seeing the backyard of the General Motors Corporation. There's a Cadillac for the captain, a Buick for his wife, and a convertible or so for each of the kids,

We paid for them all with our sweat and blood and with what the captains chiseled."

IFLWU ORGANIZERS, Negro and white, found that their only problem in organizing the fishermen was to demonstrate that this union meant business; that its words against Jim Crow and its promise to fight for a better life for the fishermen would be followed up by deeds.

Under the direction of President Ben Gold and District Directors Frank Brownstone and John Russell, the union organizers proved their good faith. They ate and lived with the fishermen. They organized community by community, bringing the fishermen and their wives together to union meetings.

When the Klan threatened violence against the union organizers, the fishermen rallied and the nightshirts backed off.

Klansmen predicted that fire would level the homes of union members.

"We answered right back," a fisherman delegate told the Chicago convention. "Go ahead, burn our shacks. They won't be a loss to anyone. But remember the wind blows sparks that can catch any place in town."

In Readsville, Virginia, there is now a solid IFLWU local with 1,700 dues-paying members. In every other main fishing center along the Atlantic coast—in Southport and Beaufort, North Carolina, and Fernandino, Florida—the fishermen are all IFLWU. They turn out by the hundreds to union membership meetings.

ALREADY THE MENHADEN are running out on the Atlantic. But all along the coast, from Virginia to Florida and around to the Gulf, the menhaden fleets, as this is written, are still sitting quietly in harbor.

"There's no strike on," said the fishermen. "But the boats just aren't cutting out till they sign a contract, an IFLWU contract. We starved when we worked—we can do the same thing without working."

The other delegates to the IFLWU convention gave the menhaden fishermen a rousing ovation and pledged an end to their days of hunger and bitterness. Money for strike support, money for organization was voted unanimously by the workers from the fur markets and tanneries.

But it was not money that brought union organization, where the multi-million dollar drive of CIO had failed. It was courage, the guts to fight Jim Crow, and the plain honesty of a union which really battles in the workers' cause.

"The man who feeds 'em all"

By HOMER AYRES

A farmer-labor relations expert puts the finger on corporation hogwash about 'rich' small farmer

SOMEBODY OUGHT to write a pamphlet and call it, "What Every City Person Should Know About Farmers."

Most of the newspaper stories about farmers contain the same percentage of bunk as those on labor organizations. They are angled to make city workers believe that all farmers live in the lap of luxury.

When folks see round steak priced at over a buck a pound, it's not hard to believe the fable that "all farmers are rich." But quite possibly the cattle feeder who put the last 300 pounds on the critter from which the steak was cut, did the trick for nothing, or even lost money on the operation.

The truth is that a dickens of a lot of farmers today are just hanging on by their fingertips. This is especially true of those on the smaller farms; those whose land is below average in fertility; or those who don't have sufficient equipment.

Then, of course, there is the renter, who gives about half to the landlord; the farmer who is flooded out or dried out; and the farmer who buys stock to fatten, only to find after doing it that the market has slumped and he has donated his work, his feed and even some cash to experience.

ONE REASON for the plight of many farmers is that "the old gray mare ain't what she used to be" a few short years ago. The mare and her offspring, that used to furnish the farm power, have been turned out to pasture and gone down the "horseburger" trail never to return.

Now most farms and ranches are mechanized. Some have three or even four tractors. Farm equipment is heavy and expensive. The gasoline man drives up with his truck all too often for pocketbook comfort.

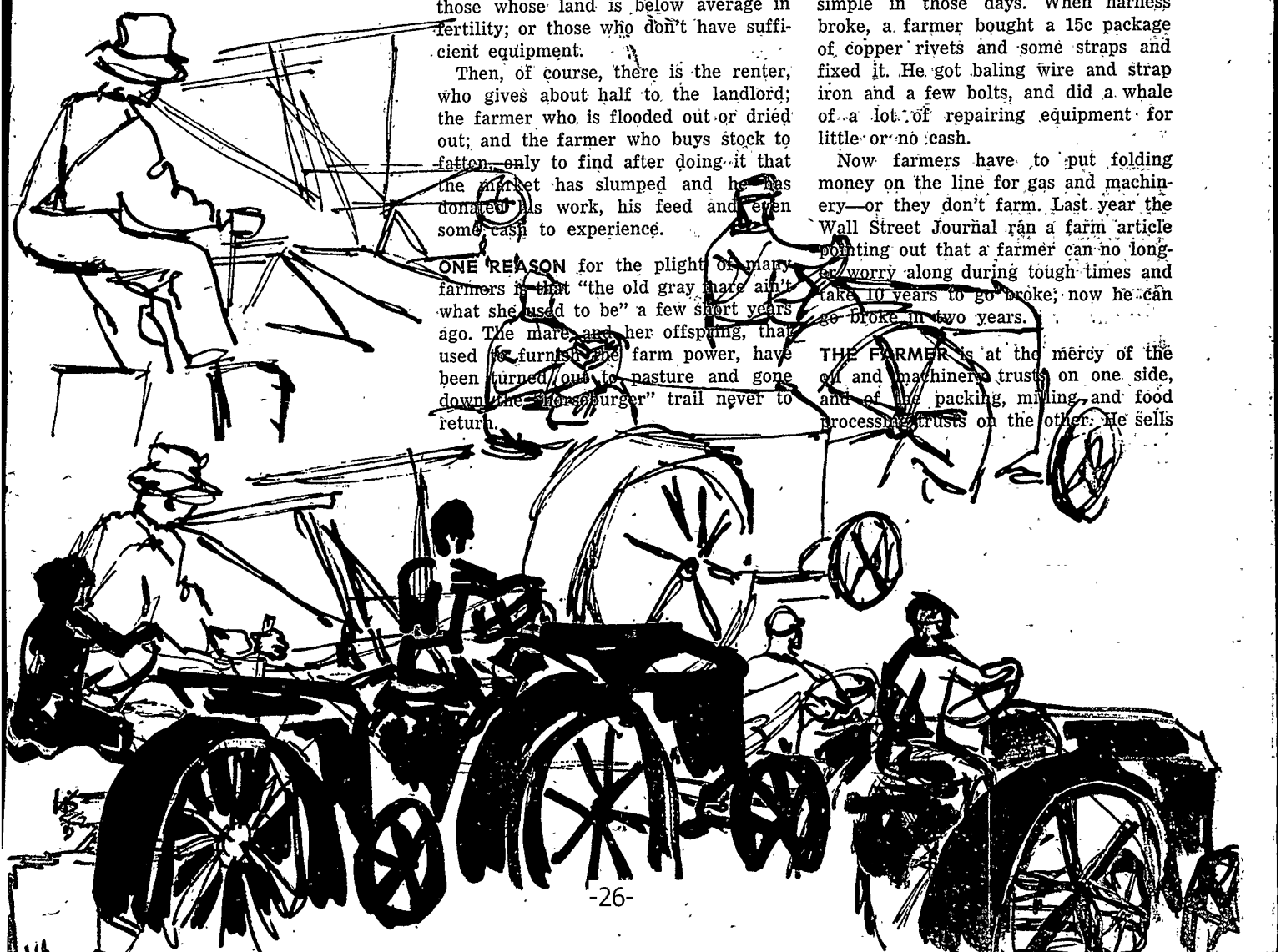
Hired men who can handle all the new and complicated farm equipment are scarce as hen's teeth; and they won't work any more for thirty a month—just "to get a start in life." In their attempt to solve their manpower problems, farmers are forced to buy more and more high-priced, labor-saving equipment.

When farmers depended on "hay-burners" for power, they raised their power right on the farms—hay, oats, corn, and, of course, colts, that grew up into more horsepower.

Farm equipment was comparatively simple in those days. When harness broke, a farmer bought a 15c package of copper rivets and some straps and fixed it. He got baling wire and strap iron and a few bolts, and did a whale of a lot of repairing equipment for little or no cash.

Now farmers have to put folding money on the line for gas and machinery—or they don't farm. Last year the Wall Street Journal ran a farm article pointing out that a farmer can no longer worry along during tough times and take 10 years to go broke; now he can go broke in two years.

THE FARMER is at the mercy of the oil and machinery trusts on one side, and of the packing, milling, and food processing trusts on the other. He sells



Labor Folks

PHILIP MURRAY, CIO chief, after hearing the news of Taft's defeat at the Republican Convention said: "I am glad to hear that Taft is getting what he deserves. Perhaps, he will understand now that his infamous law did not make him so popular after all."

"BIG BILL" HUTCHESON, first vice president of the AFL, was the only "big name" labor delegate at the GOP convention. He actively campaigned against Taft's nomination. . .

JAMES HOFFA, president of the Michigan Conference of AFL Teamsters, endorsed Averell Harriman for President. . .

JAMES J. MATLES, UE Organization Director, recently appeared before the Humphrey Senate labor subcommittee, and showed how James Carey's activities differ from the policy of CIO with regard to this committee. All other CIO officers asked the Humphrey Committee to give up its hearings, but Carey has enlisted its aid in his jurisdictional troubles. . .

A. J. HAYES, president of International Association of Machinists, and Walter Reuther agreed to extend their no-raiding agreement, first made in 1949. . .

JACK HALL, ILWU Regional Director in Hawaii and a Smith Act victim, will go on trial September 29th. . .

TOM RANEY, International Representative of the United Mine Workers and leader of the organizing campaign in the non-union area in eastern Kentucky, once again defied the gunmen who threatened to shoot him down if he speaks at a miners' rally in Manchester, Ky. The rally followed by less than a week the ambush shooting of three UMW organizers at Blue Hill, Ky.

his products at wholesale and buys at retail.

An old Nebraska farmer, who had been through the mill with much grief for years, put it like this:

"Tractors put the horses out of business, and it looks like they might even put me out of business."

Another farmer, speaking of the mechanization in agriculture, said:

"The more machinery we get around us, the faster we have to run to keep up with it."

This doesn't mean that farmers want to go back to horses. They couldn't if they would. It means that, with mechanization, the large monopolies have taken a tighter grip on their throats.

THE ONLY WAY that grip is loosened is by enough holler coming from the country for the politicians to hear it in Washington. Then the politicians begin to worry about elections, and perhaps they vote for laws that give farmers government-supported floors under farm prices.

When such laws come up, the same newspapers that scream "red" at progressive fighting labor unions also scream "socialism" at the farm bills.

They say the government is "coddling farmers" and "jacking up the price of food to city consumers." Such propaganda is dished out to make city workers say: "To heck with the farmers, the government don't help me any."

But, in spite of federal farm programs, nearly a million of the 6,812,350 farms in 1935 had folded up by 1945. And the "rich state of Iowa" lost 10,811 out of her 214,000 farms from 1940 to 1950.

TRADE UNIONISTS who know the farm score realize that, when multitudes of farmers drop off the cliff, they fall straight into the cities, looking for jobs. Some of them become hungry enough even to try some of the old gray mare "horseburgers."

It's tough on wage rates and union conditions when too many dispossessed farmers keep coming to town like this.

Since 1945, half a dozen phony "farm" fronts have been formed to cook up programs for speeding the movement of poor farmers from the land to the cities.

One of the latest "farm documents"—written by Arthur Moore of the Washington staff of the big-business publishing firm, McGraw-Hill—proposes to plow under about 2,000,000 farmers, because of "under-employment" in agriculture.

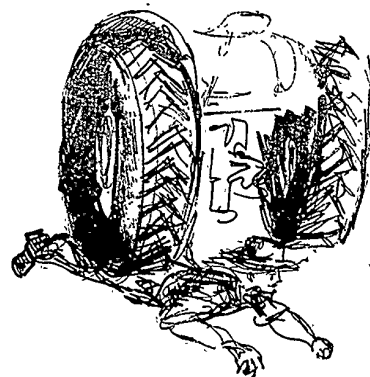
The idea, apparently, is to feed more

and more men into the war machine and the war program by closing up a lot of family farms.

Moore's report, issued by the National Planning Association, actually had the okay of such labor leaders as CIO's Phil Murray and Jim Carey and A. J. Hayes of the Machinists.

Needless to say, it was also okayed by a long string of Wall Street "sodbusters" and braintrusters of the milling trust, the packers, the farm machinery trust, etc.

James Patton of the Farmers Union was drawn in too, along with Allan



Kline of the Farm Bureau, who has been saying for a good long spell that there are too many farmers.

WITH POORER FARMERS gone, Wall Street's farm-fronters look forward to more easy political handling of the remaining more prosperous farmers. The large corporation farmers, of course, are already in their camp.

They hope to build a strong anti-labor force on the farms. And they're out to really jack up food prices in a big way.

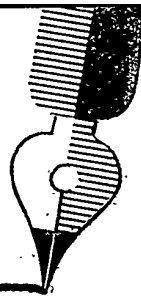
The myth has been widely spread around in the past that a factory worker can save enough money to buy a good farm in the corn belt, or a white-face cow outfit in Montana.

But such outfits cost between \$50,000 and \$100,000 these days, for a one-family setup. And then there is no guarantee that high taxes, drought, high operating costs and low farm prices won't move in and take away everything.

The main thing trade unionists should remember about farmers—or at least about the lower-income 90 percent of them—is that without trade union support for a farm program to help keep them on the land, they'll keep coming into the cities in ever larger numbers.

Family farmers are labor's best allies. Labor should keep them that way.

Dear Editor



Ferment Among "Rails"

SAN JOSE, Calif.

Leslie Porter's article in the June issue of your paper stating the case for the UROC made the rounds of the shanties on the SP Coast Division and the men eagerly awaited the July issue. Brother J. A. Lowell's letter giving his reasons for the swing from the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen to the Switchmen's Union of North America started a lot of discussion, so I take this opportunity to get some of it off my chest.

The lesson of the May 1946 strike did not register with our B of RT chieftains. Again things were allowed to drag along, and again the men voted, this time 95.5%, to strike. The date set was Feb. 27, 1950.

Then followed the five tense months of per diem, high salary malarky, the same old stall that we have been hobbled with since 1926 under the Railway Labor Act. Finally, on August 4, 1950, B of RT President Kennedy wired President Truman to the effect that after seventeen months of negotiations, the dispute with the railroads had reached a crisis; the resentment of the men was growing; and disruption of railroad service was threatened. It was Kennedy who actually recommended government operating, saying: "It is only such action that will cause the carriers to mediate in good faith..."

So the government took over and Kennedy got himself off the hook.

Some seventeen railroad presidents donned Army epaulets and the strike issue was dead and buried.

It took another ten months, highlighted by an epidemic of "sick" switchmen, to force the issue. And at that our working rules were sold out for a wage increase that inflation is already eating up. Some settlement!

The switchmen on the SP System had had their bellies full of B of RT double-talk and bureaucracy. They felt that the SUNA offered them a more democratic organization. In the B of RT members couldn't even instruct or bind convention delegates (Sect. 98, Pg. 49 B of RT Constitution). Neither could a lodge circulate or petition without first obtaining the OK of the grand lodge president (Sect. 154, Pg. 88).

In eight months resentment high-

balled until 1,792 out of 3,568 switchmen, scattered in railroad terminals throughout Texas, Arizona, California, Oregon and Nevada, voted to take the contract away from the B of RT and threw in their lot with the SUNA.

This does not mean, and the men faced the fact, that SUNA could immediately go to bat on a new SP agreement. They knew they were stuck with the three-year moratorium on proposals for changes in wages and working rules signed by the B of RT which binds them until its expiration on Oct. 1, 1953.

But it doesn't mean that the SUNA is just marking time, either. New, young and honest leadership has been elected to office. Routine grievances and safety matters are being handled. We are learning how to run our own union.

And believe me, we are keeping a critical eye on the national office in Buffalo and our vice presidents. The real test will come at the expiration of the moratorium agreement in 1953. And the men are waiting impatiently for that day.

JAMES A. REYNOLDS



How to Prevent Sellouts

SEATTLE, Wash.

The rising militancy of the workers is wonderful to see nowadays. The average worker knows that united strength can win. But his lack of knowledge or experience in strike situations leaves him wide open for a sellout by the labor fakery.

Here on the west coast, the maritime unions have developed certain tactics which help to prevent sellouts. The most important of these, in my opinion, is the conducting of strikes by rank and file committees, as large as is practicable.

Many of us here feel the Boeing strike a couple of years ago would have

been won had the conduct of the strike been taken out of the hands of the pie-cards by the rank and file. Instead, they were told to go home and wait, and they would be notified when the strike was over.

Well, they were notified all right. Twenty times a day over the radio and in the daily press, the company notified, demoralized, wheedled, harangued, and finally convinced them the strike was over—lost! The poor workers (those that weren't blacklisted) straggled back, wondering what hit 'em.

I suggest MOL show 'em how to win! Give histories of important victories and analyses of losses, showing the pitfalls the phonies will lead a strike into, and how to insure against them. Even inexperienced workers can win a strike if they have help, and I think MOL can give it to them.

CARL RAUTA
Marine Engineers
Beneficial Assn. No. 38



Freedom of the Press in a Steel Town

MARTINS FERRY, Ohio

It is about time that some of the bunk relative to "freedom of the press" and "equality of opportunity" about which we are hearing and reading via radio and press so much should be debunked. During the first half of June, the Wheeling Steel Corp. ran a full-page paid ad in the local newspaper of Martins Ferry, Ohio. In that ad the corporation presented "for public consumption" its side of the steel dispute.

The steelworkers local then also composed a full-page paid ad, presenting their side of the controversy. The management of the paper refused this ad but promised to publish part of it "after editing," but not enough to occupy more than two inches of space and probably sandwiched in among the want ads where few people would see it. The local turned that offer down. It demanded only equal freedom of the press and equality of opportunity to present its side of the controversy. This freedom and equality was denied; not by a "dictatorial government" or any "dictatorial" labor leaders but by a self-appointed dictatorial publisher who claims to favor "freedom of the press"—but evidently for some people only.

GEORGE F. CURRY

WHAT'S YOUR STAKE IN THE RACE?

From here on 'til November,
you'll be hearing wonderful speeches
about labor and the working man —
about you — from all sides.
So what?

Democrats and Republicans, will be promising lower taxes,
higher wages, full employment, job security -- you name it, they've got it!
So what?

JUST THIS—the next president and party in power can mean an awful lot to your job, the price you pay for bread and—yes, your chance of living to a ripe old age! Total war or total peace can be the price you pay for choosing the wrong guy or the wrong party! So you'd better be right! And, frankly, we can't think of a better way to know the score than to read the facts in the one magazine you know is on your side . . . and that means MOL. Right up to election time, MOL will bring you the inside information—the true facts about ALL parties. Not just what they say but how they really stand on Taft-Hartley, Minimum Wages, FEPC, Union Shop, and War or Peace. Facts you'd better know before you vote.

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PLATFORM OF THE

COMMUNIST PARTY

Issued by

National Election Campaign Committee of the
Communist Party

268 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.



1952 ELECTION PLATFORM of the COMMUNIST PARTY

Peace or war?

Democracy or fascism?

Will America continue down the road to atomic slaughter and a police state?

Or to peace and prosperity in a peaceful and prosperous world?

The year 1952 sees a casualty list of 125,000 American boys dead; wounded and missing in Korea — with millions of Korean men, women and children massacred and their homes wantonly destroyed.

Prices are the highest in our history — while employers' profits soar and workers' wages are frozen. Living standards are undermined by inflation and crushing tax burdens. Millions of American families live below subsistence levels.

Our farmers, who grow enough amply to feed the entire nation, face ever-lower prices on what they sell and ever-higher prices on what they have to buy.

While our roving ambassadors preach democracy abroad, at home 15,000,000 Negro Americans are contemptuously denied elementary civil rights — and fed politicians' promises.

Men and women with the courage to speak their minds in the tradition of the Bill of Rights are jailed, hounded and persecuted.

The men of the trusts run Washington. They control not only the banks, utilities, mills and mines but the very government itself. Grafters wallow in the public trough, hoodling mink coats and million-dollar RFC loans.

Over the land looms the threat of depression, a police state and devastating world war.

These are the chief issues of the 1952 elections.

Our great and beautiful land, our workers of hand and brain and our farmers can produce abundance for all.

Our security is threatened by no nation. No hostile air bases ring our borders; no foreign navies ride our waters; no enemy troops are within sight.

Then why the ghastly shadow of war and depression?

Solely because a handful of giant trusts, operating through a handful of banks, control the economic and political life of the United States. These are the Sixty Families, the economic royalists of America — the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, du Ponts and Fords.

They profit from wars, rigged prices, stock manipulations, and slums. They exploit the Pennsylvania coal miner and the Chilean nitrate worker. They wring profits from the Ohio steel puddler and the Ruhr molder, the Alabama sharecropper and the Liberian rubber tapper.

They seek profits at home and super-profits abroad. They seek new markets. They seek sources of raw material. They seek military, naval and air bases to protect their huge investments and sources abroad. They lean on the Nazis of Western Germany and Franco of Spain. Profits are their goal; the dollar is their god.

To swell their profits, to keep their profit system going, they are prepared to plunge the world into war and the nation into fascism. If unchecked by the people, big business in our country will drag the United States to national disaster.

The Republican Party, with its Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, is rightly known to the American working people as the party of big business and rampant reaction. The party of Stevenson and the racist Sparkman, the party of Truman who betrayed Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies, is also dominated by the Wall Street trusts. Neither party can give the nation anything except economic crisis, reaction and war.

The interests of the people demand a break with this two-party system and the adoption of a course of independent political action. The most effective way to fight for peace, economic security, Negro rights and civil liberties in this crucial election is to vote for the fighting Progressive Party

team of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass.

The American people—above all, the American working class and its allies, the farmers, the Negro people, the small business and professional people—can yet save the peace and restore the Bill of Rights. It is with patriotic faith in the American people that the Communist Party submits its platform in the 1952 elections.

PEACE

The Communist Party believes the people of our land want peace and friendly relations with all peoples. We hold that our people want a return to the Roosevelt policy of peaceful collaboration with the Socialist Soviet Union, and with all nations. The peaceful competition of the Olympic Games can be duplicated in every field of human endeavor. We hold with many other Americans that there is not the faintest danger of aggression from the Soviet Union. We hold, on the contrary, that the present bi-partisan policy of frantic rearmament, of military and economic intervention in other countries, in fact constitutes aggression. The American people and the world have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a policy of peace. To advance the best interests of the American people, the Communist Party proposes:

- An immediate cease-fire in Korea on the basis of agreements already reached. Continuation of negotiations on the prisoner-of-war issue.

A peaceful solution of the Korean problem by the U.N. Security Council, including the representatives of the People's Republic of China. Withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Korea and Formosa.

- Outlaw the atom bomb and reduce armaments under effective international control. Ratify the Geneva Convention outlawing the use of bacteriological warfare.

- Outlaw agitation for, and incitement to, war.

- Reject all peace-time military conscription plans, includ-

ing universal military training and the draft.

- Revise the Japanese treaty to provide for genuine sovereignty for Japan. Withdraw occupation troops and relinquish American military bases in Japan.

- No rearmament of Western Germany; for a united, democratic, neutral Germany.

- Cancel the aggressive North Atlantic Pact. Rescind the \$8 billion foreign military aid program. End the huge war budget.

- No loans or support to Dictator Franco.

- Establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the New People's Democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.

- A peace pact of the Big Five powers; negotiate all outstanding differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.

- Immediate unconditional independence for Puerto Rico, coupled with a program of economic assistance. Revoke inter-American agreements which impose Wall Street's war programs on Latin-American nations. Support the struggle to free their national resources and industries from Wall Street domination.

DEMOCRACY

The present bi-partisan policy is leading the United States to war and necessarily to destruction of the Bill of Rights. The U.S.A. is becoming a country where the "silence of fear" reigns; where many men in public life hesitate to speak their real views. The concentration camp, political prisoner, McCarthy-type investigation, informer and school-book censor are becoming part of the American scene.

Eisenhower's running-mate is Nixon, leading witch-hunter and co-author of the infamous Mundt-Nixon bill. Stevenson,

while attacking McCarthyism in the G.O.P., ignores his own party's McCarranism and Justice Department inquisitions. He supports Truman's witch-hunt and persecution of Communists, militant workers, and the foreign-born. He has kept silent in the face of the Administration's unprecedented drive to outlaw a political party, the Communist Party.

The Smith-Act prosecution of the Communist Party leaders is the gravest symptom of advancing fascism in the U.S. today. It follows the tragic pattern of Germany and Italy.

The Communists are no more foreign agents than was Jefferson who was also accused of being a foreign agent by the Tories of his day. It is the monopolists who advocate and practice force and violence, not the Communists. Reaction has always resorted to force and violence to thwart the democratic aspirations of the people.

We are Marxists, not adventurers or conspirators. We condemn and reject the policy and practice of terror and assassination and repudiate the advocates of force and violence. We Communists insist upon our right to compete freely in the battle of ideas.

We call upon the American people to fight with all their strength against the danger of fascism, to resist every fascist measure, to defend every democratic right. We solemnly warn that to deprive Communists of their constitutional rights is to imperil the rights of all Americans.

To restore the Bill of Rights the Communist Party proposes:

- Repeal the Smith and McCarran laws. Amnesty for all political prisoners. Immediate freedom for the 11 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act and restoration of the civil rights of Smith Act victims. Quash all outstanding indictments under the Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley laws. End the terror against the Puerto Rican patriots.
- Scrap the McCarran Act concentration camp program.
- Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the McCarran Internal Security Sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Rescind all loyalty oath orders.

Abolish the Attorney General's so-called "subversive list." End witch-hunts and screenings of seamen, teachers and government employees.

- Repeal the racist McCarran-Walter immigration bill. End persecution and deportation of the foreign born.

- Outlaw anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Negro slanders, and all other libels of religious, racial and national groups. End discrimination of the Puerto Rican and Mexican minorities.

- Lift the death sentence on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg — the American Dreyfus case.

- Abolish all legal restrictions upon the American Indian. Adopt a large-scale program of economic assistance to the impoverished Indian people.

- Broaden the right to the franchise. Repeal all poll tax and other vote-restricting legislation. Grant 18-year olds the right to vote. Enact a Federal reapportionment law in accordance with the letter and spirit of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and a presidential primary law. Liberalize all State election laws to permit wider independent political activity.

- A Congressional declaration reaffirming the historic Constitutional guarantees of freedom of worship and separation of Church and State. Forbid the use of any tax moneys for the direct or indirect support of religious institutions.

LIVING STANDARDS

The bi-partisan war program has led to a dislocation of the economy, speed-up in industry and growing depression in the consumers goods industry. While profits soar to new heights, wages are frozen and taxes crush the worker and the farmer, the small businessman and salaried employee. Inflation has already depressed the living standards of many millions.

Although retail food prices continue to mount, prices paid to the farmers have been declining, and their production costs have gone up. The crisis in agriculture is developing. Farm families are being pushed off the land, especially Negro sharecroppers in the South. The bi-partisan crowd has betrayed its promises to the farmers.

The Republican and Democratic candidates represent big business interests. Eisenhower advises the workers that if they want security, they can find it in prison. Stevenson warns the working people that they must accept "sacrifices." Both offer a bi-partisan program of armaments and privation, of guns not butter.

Both parties seek to prevent labor from improving its living standard. Eisenhower is against repeal of Taft-Hartley and proposes to "revise" it. While Stevenson is forced to speak out for repeal, he wants a new anti-labor law which would keep what is "good" in the present slave-labor law.

To meet the needs of the people, the Communist Party proposes:

- Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. End Strike-breaking injunctions. Adopt a Federal labor code including the best features of the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Acts.

- Establish genuine price controls with roll-back to January 1950. Abolish the wage freeze.

- A program of Federally-financed low rent public housing, providing for a minimum of 2,500,000 dwellings annually, free of segregation. Enact adequate health insurance.

- Increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour. Equal pay for equal work. Widen unemployment insurance coverage and double present payments and the payment period. Sharply increase social security benefits.

- Provide increased security for working farmers through full parity price guarantees, based on unlimited farm production. Such income guarantees require farm subsidies, effec-

tive crop and disaster insurance, sharp curbs on the giant food trusts and their marketing agencies. Carry out a program of planned conservation and river valley projects. Extend low cost government credit for all small farmers, including sharecroppers. End share-cropper peonage in the South. Extend Federal minimum wage and social security laws to agricultural workers, including seasonal and migratory labor.

- Revise tax policy to reduce the burden on low income families. Abolish all taxation on income under \$5,000 a year. Eliminate sales and excise taxes on articles of mass consumption. Increase tax rates on high incomes and excess profits. Enact a graduated capital levy to finance social legislation.

- Congressional action to preserve tidelands oil rights to the Federal Government.

RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

The democratic pretensions of Wall Street and its parties are shattered by the reality of the jim crow system in America, and the national oppression of the Negro people. The most shameful aspect of American life is the jim crowism, terror and genocidal violence directed against the Negro people, especially in the South. This racism at home goes hand in hand with a racist foreign policy which rains down napalm bombs upon the colored people of Korea and seeks to dominate the Latin-American, African and Asian peoples.

In the past two years, we have witnessed the legal lynching of the Martinsville Seven, of Willie McGee and of many others; the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Moore in Florida; the Cicero riots, and the persecution of Negro leaders. These and many other monstrous acts aim to suppress the rising movement of the Negro people for equality and freedom.

The Communist Party, which has pioneered in fighting for full political, economic and social equality for the Negro people, demands an end to the policies of the Federal and state governments which promote the jim crow system in the United States.

We call upon all decent-minded Americans, especially the white workers, to carry on an unceasing struggle to outlaw the poll tax, lynchings, segregation, job discrimination and all other forms of jim crowism, official and unofficial, and to give their full support to the rising national liberation movement of the Negro people. The Communist Party proposes:

- A Federal compulsory FEPC. An immediate Presidential order pending such legislation.

- Enact an anti-lynch law with the death penalty for lynchers. Outlaw the Ku Klux Klan.

- Prompt revision of the present cloture rule in the U.S. Senate to prevent filibuster against civil rights legislation.

- A Presidential order to wipe out jim crow in the armed forces, in Washington, D. C., and in all Federal institutions.

- Federal re-apportionment to guarantee representation of Negro citizens in all branches of government.

- Complete elimination of segregation in the schools of the nation, South and North. Federal aid to Negro colleges. Eliminate discrimination in housing, public and private.

- Executive action for the freedom of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and all Negro victims of frameups.

- A Presidential instruction to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations to support the petition on genocide.

* * *

PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

The two-party system is the prison in which the political hopes of the American people have been traditionally confined. Today both major parties are committed to the bipartisan war program. Both support the war in Korea, the North Atlantic Pact, the huge arms budgets — the program

of fattening the billionaires and of starving the people.

The Republican Party carries out its support of the war program under the flag of "liberation." The Democratic Party disguises its support of the war program under the banner of "peace through strength." The end result of the programs of both parties would be world atomic holocaust.

Both parties of big business support the staggering arms program which is at the bottom of the runaway inflation. Both serve the trusts in boosting prices, rigging markets, gouging consumers, destroying the purchasing power of the masses. The McCarthys and the Nixons of the Republican Party are matched by the McCarrans, the McGraths, and the Rankins of the Democratic Party. Both major parties are responsible for the Hitler-like hysteria expressed in the witch hunts, persecution and arrests of Americans whose "crime" is to oppose Wall Street's war program.

The Republican Party is the most open champion of the interests of the big trusts. The nomination of five-star General Eisenhower and the ultra-reactionary Senator Nixon symbolizes the determination of big business to speed up preparations for world war and a fascist form of rule in our country.

The Democratic Party, disguising its big business war program with liberal trappings and demagoguery, makes a special bid for the votes of labor and the Negro people. Its supporters include millions of working people, who are confused by its pretensions of liberalism and still view it as Roosevelt's party.

Many workers, while skeptical of the Truman policies and mess of corruption, fear a Republican victory, and thus accept the Stevenson-Sparkman candidacy as the so-called "lesser evil." This mood is actively stimulated by the surrender policies of the top officers of the AFL and CIO, by the leaders of the ADA and the leaders of the Liberal Party in New York. They are die-hard opponents of genuine independent political action by the American working people.

The movement towards independent political action requires a determined fight against the two-party system and against the "lesser evil" alibi which keeps the workers tied to the parties of Wall Street.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The Progressive Party which was first launched in 1948 gives a real choice between peace and war, democracy and fascism, security and poverty in these national elections. On the immediate questions before the people of the country, the Progressive Party has presented a detailed platform around which all forward-looking people can unite. The vote for the Progressive Party ticket of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass will greatly strengthen the fight for peace. Far from being a wasted vote, a vote for the Progressive ticket is the only effective vote for peace. A large vote for the Progressive Party will help expand the movement of the people that alone can guarantee peace.

In addition to the support of the Progressive Party, we strongly urge support, even if qualified, of those candidates on local or Congressional level in the two major parties who support a program that will truly advance the people's interests. We urge especially the unity of all groups to advance the fight for Negro representation, to guarantee the election of Negro candidates regardless of party affiliation.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party is taking part in the 1952 elections as it has in every national election since its founding thirty-three years ago. In 1952 we support the Progressive Party national ticket as we did in 1948, and as we supported Roosevelt in 1944. We are running candidates for office in various localities. We urge a big vote for the Communist candidates as a vote of opposition to the attacks upon the Bill of Rights.

We Communists appeal to all working people — regardless of how they may now intend to vote — to speak out through their unions and community organizations on the vital issues of the day: for an immediate cease-fire in Korea, for a compulsory FEPC, for repeal of the Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts. The issue of war or peace lies in the hands of the

people. It is the people who must guarantee that the decision will be peace!

FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The Communist Party is the party of Socialism. It works to organize, educate and eventually lead the American people to establish a socialist society in which the people themselves will own and operate in common the mines, mills, banks and utilities, and abolish forever the exploitation of man by man.

The Communist Party recognizes that Socialism is not yet an immediate issue before the American people. We hold that the supreme task before the American people today is the fight against the danger of war and fascism, for peace and democracy. We hold that the unity of all the democratic and peace-loving forces of our nation can defeat the threat of war and fascism. We hold that the greatest need of the present moment is the creation of a powerful front for peace, capable of curbing the monopoly warmongers.

To obtain peace, security, equal rights for the Negro people, the maintenance and extension of democracy, the working class must unite together with its allies, the working farmers, the Negro people, the professional and small business people and all progressive forces of the nation.

This unity must take on political form through the forging of an independent political instrument — a new people's coalition based on a great national political realignment that will elect a government committed to the maintenance of peace and democracy.

Such a people's anti-fascist and anti-monopoly peace coalition will and must grow out of the political struggles of today and tomorrow — out of the inevitable disgust and break with the two old parties; out of the heroic work of the Progressive Party and its courageous standard-bearers, Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass; out of the struggles of the labor movement; out of the struggles of the Negro people for first-class citizenship; and, above all, out of the fight to return our

nation to the politics of peace — a fight that can unite the overwhelming majority of our people cutting across all existing party lines.

A democratic people's coalition can elect a people's government dedicated to the maintenance of peace, democracy and security. Such a truly democratic people's government can obtain a constitutional mandate to curb the power of the trusts which today control the economic and political life of our country. Such a government can, if the strength of the democratic forces of our nation is effectively organized, use its governmental power and people's mandate to restrain and defeat any violence the capitalists and their agents develop. These conditions would open the road for the people, when the majority so decided, to advance toward socialism.

Our firm belief that only the socialist reorganization of society can finally insure permanent peace, security and prosperity to our land is no barrier to cooperation with all other progressive Americans in helping to create that great new people's coalition demanded by the struggle against the horrors of war and fascism.

We do not demand special position within such a great democratic anti-war, anti-fascist, anti-monopoly coalition and will, of course, oppose any discrimination against us because of our socialist aims. We at all times will fight loyally together with all democratic Americans against reaction and will seek by democratic means to convince the majority of Americans that only in a socialist society can democracy achieve its fullest flower and the vision of the brotherhood of man be realized on earth.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY

268 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Please send me more information about the Communist
Party.

Please send me copies of the Election
Platform at 1c a copy (money enclosed).

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

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(Name of contributor)

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Description:

Pamphlet "PETTIS PERRY
SPEAKS TO THE
COURT"

File No. 134-14A-1A(12)

PETTIS PERRY SPEAKS TO THE COURT

*"...I considered it
my duty and responsibility
to defend the
principles by
which I have
lived..."*



OPENING STATEMENT TO THE COURT AND JURY IN THE
CASE OF THE SIXTEEN SMITH ACT VICTIMS IN THE
TRIAL AT FOLEY SQUARE, NEW YORK

10c

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PETTIS PERRY... *Speaks to the Court*

Opening Statement to the
Court and Jury in the Case
of the Sixteen Smith Act
Victims in the Trial at Foley
Square, New York.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

New York

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS PAMPHLET contains the text of the opening statement of Pettis Perry to the Court and jury in the case of the sixteen Smith Act victims in the trial at Foley Square, New York. In this notorious case, Mr. Perry, together with his co-defendant, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, acted as his own counsel. His statement to the Court was made April 25, 1952. Interpellations of the Court or of the attorneys are indicated by a line of asterisks.

New Century Publishers has also made available, as a companion pamphlet, under the title *Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Speaks to the Court*, the opening statement to the Court of Miss Flynn.

MR. PERRY: Your Honor, ladies and gentlemen of the jury:

I find myself before you with the responsibility of defending myself against the charge of conspiracy to advocate force and violence. You know that I am not a lawyer. Consequently, it is perhaps inevitable that I may make some errors of approach to legal questions since I am unfamiliar with the rules of conduct of court procedure and with legal language and technicalities. I hope you will bear this in mind.

It may seem strange to you that with all of the legal talent in this city I should be defending myself. I considered it my duty and responsibility to defend the principles by which I have lived for twenty years, and to defend the activities which I have participated in during the two decades since I have been a member of the Communist Party.

The prosecution alleges in the indictment that I and my co-defendants have conspired to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the United States Government. This I deny.

To disprove the Government's charges, I intend to:

First, briefly show that my early background has been one of protest and opposition to the oppression of my people, and to the force and violence directed against them.

Second, demonstrate that my teachings and advocacy as a Communist have been in opposition to force and violence and in support of the genuine democratic interests of all people.

I intend to show that, far from teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, the Communist Party and I sought through democratic means—by organization, legislation and education in the market place of public opinion—to secure the Constitutional rights of the Negro people, especially to realize the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments in life.

My name is Pettis Perry. I was born in Marion, Alabama, some 54 years ago. I am the son of small tenant farmers. My mother alternated between working on a farm and as a domestic worker for as little as a dollar and a half a week. She died when I was a child, a small child, and I was reared by my uncle and aunt.

In the plantation area where I was raised, Negro children generally got 90 days' schooling out of a year, while whites got six months. I myself attended a rural school for five terms; that is, five three-month terms, 15 months in all, the total of my formal schooling.

My schooling was cut short by extreme poverty in the family. I had to go to work on the farm at 10 years of age. I worked day in and day out from dawn until dark.

My childhood experience—a childhood of dire poverty and want, of long hours of toil, and no opportunity to complete my schooling—made a deep and lasting impression upon me. This was one of the earlier factors in my life which led me to seek the reasons for the plight of my people, and led me in later years to join in the struggle to eliminate their oppression and poverty.

But what impressed itself even more than this was my early experience with force and violence, force and violence directed against my people.

When I was but ten or twelve years of age I saw a Negro prisoner, with ball and chains around his ankles, beaten until blood ran from him like water from a spring.

I saw a Negro minister murdered in Hamburg, Alabama.

* * * * *

MR. PERRY: When I was seventeen, I was compelled to hire myself out to a neighboring landlord. On this plantation I labored long hours for 50 cents a day. After several months of work, the plantation owner, Mr. Blackburn, decided I was not working fast enough, and took the whip to me. But I was not one to take a lashing. As you can well understand, I could not remain working on this plantation.

I then went to work at a little sawmill where I received a dollar a day. Here, I and other Negro working men worked alongside of whites who received one and a half times to twice as much for the same work. I could not understand why there should be this differential in wages.

The discrimination under which Negro workers labored fol-

lowed me from job to job and I determined to travel to find a spot in our land where Jim Crow did not exist.

At that time I was convinced that there must be some place in the United States where Negroes were treated as men and women, as Americans with full rights as other citizens.

I went everywhere—north, south, west and east, constantly searching.

Finally, in 1920, I went to California where I remained for 28 years. There I worked in a cement plant for almost two years. Later I became a migratory worker. For six years I worked in the agricultural fields during the spring and in the cottonseed oil mills of San Diego, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Tucson, Arizona in the fall and winter.

During my years as a migratory worker in Imperial Valley, I saw the horrible conditions under which Mexican workers had to live, conditions as bad as those of the Negroes, and in some cases even worse.

I discovered that a trade union, the Agricultural Workers Union, was striving to organize these workers. Although the union made no direct appeal to me, or to the Negro people, I immediately gave all the assistance I could to help carry through its organizing drive.

Until 1932 I knew little or nothing about the Communist Party. Of course I had heard about Communism over the radio, which hammered away that the Communists were a bunch of Russians, that they wanted to import revolutions here from Russia, and so on and so forth.

As a result, I didn't bother any too much about Communism one way or the other.

But one day I was shown a copy of the *Daily Worker* with a story about nine Negro children charged with rape in Alabama, who were about to be executed. I became extremely interested in this case. At the first opportunity I joined the International Labor Defense.

I began to give every free hour to spreading the news of the Scottsboro case to as many people in my community as I possibly

could. I went from door to door with petitions, with leaflets, magazines, or whatever was available.

* * * * *

MR. PERRY: This experience made a profound impression on me. For the first time I saw white men and women join in the struggle to save the lives of Negro young men. But these events alone did not shape my outlook. Other great events affected me and impelled me towards the Communist Party.

Hitler was coming to power in Germany. Japan was slicing off territory from China. In our own country, unemployment was widespread and hunger was no stranger in the homes of millions.

I wanted to understand the reasons behind these events, and I began very seriously to seek them out by reading and studying. With my 15 months' education, reading was a very difficult thing for me. This kind of serious study meant a leap from wild west stories to Marxism-Leninism, about which you will hear a great deal during this trial. It meant a leap from the most primitive form of education into the high science of mankind. Such a task required tremendous efforts and many sleepless nights.

I had to understand why, in a wealthy country like ours, whose riches I had seen for myself in my travels, was there so much poverty in our land. Why were millions without work?

Why were my people denied the elementary human rights?

The search for the answer to these questions led me to the Communist Party. In the early fall of 1932 I joined the Communist Party. I was convinced by now, by everything I had heard and seen, and from everything I had learned, that the best fighters in these struggles and in the Imperial Valley, and the fight for the Scottsboro boys, in the unemployment council, in the fight for freedom, were the Communists.

Twenty years have elapsed since that time, during most of which I have held many leading posts in the Communist Party organization in Los Angeles and in the State of California.

While in California I ran for many public offices, as candidate of the Communist Party. As far back as 1934 I was candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, polling over 10,000 votes. In 1938 I

ran for State Board of Equalization and polled over 50,000 votes.

I was also a candidate for State Secretary in 1942, securing around 40,000 votes.

At the end of 1948 I came to New York to become secretary of the National Negro Commission, later also head of the National Farm Commission.

At the 1950 convention I was elected as an alternate member of the National Committee. We will show that throughout these years my activities, as those of my Party, were activities conducted in the light of day, and among tens and hundreds of thousands of people. Far from advocating force and violence, we will show that our activities aimed to improve the lot of the working class and the Negro people; that the policy we projected and fought for expressed the aspirations and the needs of the people; that many of the slogans that we advanced were adopted by millions of Americans, Negro and white, in the course of many hard-fought struggles; and that some of our policies have been enacted into law.

We will show that the Communist Party from its inception has used every legal means to advance the cause of democracy and the well-being of the working class, the Negro people and the nation.

During these two decades we fought, with the utmost vigor, in the never forgotten years of the severe economic crisis, for relief, unemployment insurance and jobs for the countless millions of unemployed. We fought to establish industrial unions in the trustified industries, and for the first time Negro workers were organized in large numbers.

We will show that we helped to arouse the American people to the threat of violence from Hitler fascism and energetically—energetically advocated collective security to stop Hitler aggression.

We will show that several thousand Communists fought on the side of democratic Spain against Franco and the fascist Axis, not alone to save the Spanish Republic, but to preserve democracy throughout the world.

We will show that the Communist Party warned against the selling of scrap iron to Japan to be used in its war against the Chinese people. We warned that this scrap iron might one day return in the form of bullets against our own people, as indeed it did at Pearl Harbor.

We will show that when Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito unleashed the violence of World War II, we loyally and devotedly gave all our energies to secure victory over fascism, with fifteen thousand Communists serving in the United States Army, Navy and Air Force, hundreds of them never to return home. And in the post-war period, of which much will be said at this trial, we continued in this same spirit to defend the interests of the people of our land, making the fight for peace and democracy the central task of our party.

We intend to show that our tackling of day-to-day questions are neither peripheral nor window dressing, but the very heart of our existence. We will show that one cannot divorce the day-to-day activities of the Communist Party on behalf of the Negro people and the American working class, from our ultimate fight for Socialism. It is precisely the day-to-day activities of the Communist Party that help to educate the people to understand their own strength and to recognize their friends as well as their enemies. It is through these very day-to-day activities, around issues of great concern to the people, that the majority will be won for the eventual aim of Socialism.

The Government includes among other of its list of exhibits a number of articles I wrote since 1948, which I presume they intend to offer as evidence in their case against me. Among these articles are those entitled "Destroy the Virus of White Chauvinism," "Next Stage in the Struggles for Negro Rights," "The Civil Rights Mobilization," "Press Forward the Struggle Against White Chauvinism," and so forth.

* * * * *

MR. PERRY: These articles were written in my capacity as secretary of the National Negro Commission. They show that the Communist Party has fought, without reservation, for com-

plete equality, full economic, political and social equality, for the Negro people, and that this is one of the main reasons why we now—we now stand as defendants in this trial.

As Secretary of the National Negro Commission, I had the special responsibility to recommend policy and help to implement policy in the Party's program and development that affected the lives of the Negro people in our country. The work and activities of the National Negro Commission reflect my advocacy and my intent.

The U. S. Attorney has referred to the 1945 Convention, which reconstituted the Communist Party. This convention adopted a number of leading slogans on the fight for Negro rights.

This convention also decided, and I am now quoting from the resolution at that convention, to:

“Create a special commission to undertake a basic study of the conditions and trends of the Negro people in relation to the broad social, economic and political movement in America and the world today, and, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, to formulate a comprehensive definition of Communist policy and program on the Negro question.”

In 1946—and I refer now to a special meeting of the National Committee—in December 1946, applying the Marxist-Leninist theory to the Negro question, we adopted a special resolution on the Negro question in which we deepened and expanded the position developed in 1945. These resolutions guided us in our teaching and advocacy on this central question. We shall show that they were the basis for our struggle to stop the force and violence committed against the Negro people. They formed the guide to our action in uniting with many other Americans to oppose the legal lynchings of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, Edward Honeycutt—cases which may be unfamiliar to most of you but which burned themselves deeply into the consciousness of 15 million American Negroes.

We shall show that our Party not only adopted resolutions on that, but fought for jobs and upgrading for Negro workers, for equal pay for equal work, and for breaking down discrimination in all industries, trades and professions.

We intend to show that we now support the current campaign for 100,000 new jobs for Negro workers, and in doing this we are doing everything in our power to convince the white workers that it is to their interest that the Negro people have equal access to jobs and job opportunities along with themselves.

We intend to show that this fight for jobs for Negroes has helped to unite in a common struggle Negro and white workers.

We helped to obtain better living conditions for the Negro people.

We helped to improve the conditions of the white workers and helped to create a better understanding between white and Negro workers. Thus, not teaching force and violence but advocating unity and brotherhood, we intend to show that it was the leaders of the Communist Party of New York, especially that great son of a Georgia family, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., named as a co-conspirator of mine, who as a member of the City Council of New York, was among the first to raise the whole issue of Jim Crow in Stuyvesant Town, a housing development owned by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

We intend to show that none of this advocacy had even the remotest resemblance to a conspiracy. It was advanced in the City Council by Benjamin J. Davis and developed through public mass meetings, petitions, delegations, demonstrations and conferences.

What was true in Stuyvesant Town, we will show to be true all over the United States as far as we Communists are concerned. Our activities among white, as well as Negroes, were to break down Jim Crow in housing and to break down Jim Crow in industry. This grows out of our Marxist understanding; that is part of our fight for Socialism. And all of this is peaceful in its advocacy, in its intent and purpose.

We intend to show that throughout our existence we have insisted upon, and we still insist, that Negro youth be given equal educational opportunities, which can be accomplished by completely eliminating segregation in the field of education.

We intend to show that far from advocating force and violence,

our Party has fought for the constitutional right to vote for the millions of Negro men and women who still remain disfranchised in the poll tax states of the South; that it has fought against exclusion of Negroes from governmental and political posts on all levels, and for their constitutional right to hold all elective and appointive political posts.

We intend to show that this program of guaranteeing the right of the Negro people to vote in the poll tax states in the South, serves the democratic interests of the entire nation in that it will, among other things, insure the removal of the anti-democratic representatives in Congress who dominate key positions in House and Senate.

We intend to show that our consistent fight for Negro representation on all levels of government is not a conspiratorial act, is not based on force and violence, but is aimed to realize in life the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to our Constitution—to realize full and equal citizenship for the Negro people.

This, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, has been my main responsibility as secretary of the National Negro Commission. Jointly with Benjamin J. Davis, its chairman, it was my responsibility to bring these relevant facts to broad sections of the white people and to help to the best of my ability to encourage and inspire the Negro people to have confidence in the white workers, middle class and poor farmers; confidence in the ability of these people to understand this question and to participate with and assist the Negro people in breaking through these political, economic and social barriers.

We intend to show that this fight for Negro representation, the fight against Jim Crow in all of its forms throughout the country, the fight against lynching, the fight against the poll tax, the fight for equal opportunities for Negro men and women, is part of the fight for self-determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt.

We will hear a lot about our program for self-determination from the mouths of government witnesses. We will show that by self-determination we mean the right of the Negro people; who

constitute the majority in the Black Belt area, cutting across 300 counties, to self rule, the right to determine their own destiny. We will show that only by self-determination will the Negro people in the Black Belt, now kept in national enslavement and oppression, denied the right to the land on which they labor, denied the most elementary democratic rights, realize that freedom which the Negro people have been striving to achieve for 300 years.

We will show that the right to self-determination will be realized only as the result of alliances in the best interests of all. We will show that we never had any concept that the Negroes and the Negroes alone could achieve this program; that we constantly envision the achievement of this program only on the basis of Negro and white, that without that, this program is impossible and unrealizable.

We want to show that we have always fought for land reforms in the South, for the improvement of the conditions of the poor farmers, Negro and white, addressing ourselves to that section of the farming population which are poorest of all, namely, the poor farmers of the South, particularly in the Black Belt, the sharecroppers and the tenant farmers.

We intend to show that we have fought and still fight for the elimination of the debt system, of the chain gang system, of the low wages for agricultural workers which are worse in the South than anywhere else in the country.

We intend to show that flowing from our understanding of Marxism-Leninism, that the interests of the white workers, the white middle class, both city and rural, and the small business people, are tied up with the interests of the Negro people, and that the working class in our country cannot attain its emancipation if it fails to fight for the national liberation of the oppressed Negro people.

We will show that we advocate that the white masses must and will repudiate the ideas of white supremacy, which poisons the whole atmosphere in our country, and feeds violence. Marxism-Leninism condemns and combats the Hitler-like ideas of

Anglo-Saxon supremacy and the ideas of white supremacy, the myth of the inferiority of the Negro and colored peoples. Marxist-Leninist theory is based not on the separation of people because of nationality, religion, race or color, but on the equality and brotherhood of peoples, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the oppression of one nation by another nation.

On this understanding of Marxism-Leninism, we have always protested against and organized to help put an end to the long enslavement of the island of Puerto Rico as a colony of this country, and that we advocate the full and complete national independence of Puerto Rico. We will show that we have advocated that the Puerto Rican people be granted their independence as a free and independent nation, as the only path toward abolishing the abject poverty and exploitation of its people, and that the Puerto Rican people who live in the United States be granted complete equality in the economic, political and social life of our country.

We shall submit evidence to show that all of our activities on these fronts have been aimed at improving and strengthening, rather than weakening, democracy in our country. This flows from our basic teachings that only through democracy can the working class and the Negro people more effectively fight to improve their well-being. We intend to show that in the recent period we have fought against the wage-freeze and run-away prices, and opposed war profiteering. We have consistently fought against the growing tax burdens on the lower income groups, which is a consequence of the war economy and war preparations. And we have helped to expose through our activity the unprecedented graft and corruption in government that has shocked the entire nation. Thus, instead of worsening conditions and creating chaos and depression, we constantly seek to improve conditions.

We intend to show, that consistent with our fight against the menacing growth of fascism in this country, we have opposed legislation, such as the McCarran and Smith Acts, the Taft-Hartley Act, the mass violation of civil and democratic rights

of the people, the growing threat of the re-emerging Ku Klux Klan, the increased terror against the Negro people, the Mexican people, and the Puerto Rican people, and the increase in anti-Semitism, racism and chauvinism. Above all, we intend to demonstrate that the attempt to outlaw our Party, the imprisonment of its leaders under the false charge of "conspiracy" advocating "the forcible overthrow of the United States Government," is a threat to the democracy and security of all of our people.

We intend to show that our activity is consistent with our fight for peace; which is the all-embracing concern of the overwhelming majority of our people, a task to which the Communist Party has dedicated its main efforts.

Mr. Lane stated yesterday that we Communists envision violent revolution as a result of war and depression. But the fact is, as we will show during the course of this trial, that we have energetically and consistently urged not war, but negotiations and agreements to resolve international differences and tensions. We have advocated ever since June, 1950, an end to the senseless and tragic war in Korea, convinced that this would greatly enhance the realization of the universal desire for peace. We have advocated not remilitarization and renazification of Germany, but a United Democratic Germany as a means of avoiding the force and violence of an atomic world war.

We have advocated Big Five collaboration between the United States, Britain, France, the Chinese Republic, and the Socialist Soviet Union, convinced that the unity of the former allies is the best guarantee of world peace. In the interest of the great majority of our people, who want to live in peace and harmony with the peoples of the world, we advocate the possibility and necessity of the peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist states. In doing this, we give our highest allegiance to the sovereign American people.

The indictment alleges that we plan a violent overthrow of the Government. The prosecution will not be able to produce one single shred of evidence to prove its contention. It will select from our writings and from the writings of the founders

of scientific socialism, quotations torn out of context and given a sinister meaning.

* * * * *

MR. PERRY: One of the false allegations is that our concept of Marxism-Leninism as a "guide to action" means a "rule for action." What do we mean when we say theory is a guide to action?

We will show this simply means that our Marxist-Leninist science, like all scientific developments and discoveries is used not as a blueprint to be applied mechanically, but as a guide to understand the concrete historical conditions which exist at a given period and to determine the program and tasks of the Communists Party for that given period.

The concept that theory is a guide to action applies to the day-to-day struggle, as well as the eventual realization of Socialism. For example, the fight to break down discrimination, to break down Jim Crow, the fight to improve, is action.

The fight for large scale housing developments, low-rent housing that would be available to the broad masses of Negro and white of the lower income group, is action.

The fight to prevent war is action. Our Marxist-Leninist theory is a guide to all these actions. So there is nothing mystical about this statement. Marxism-Leninism expressly opposes blueprinting any form of action, including that of achieving working-class state power.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, permit me to say that we intend to prove all of the allegations of the indictment of the Government against us are unfounded. We intend to prove that we have no conspiratorial aims nor intend to commit forcible and violent overthrow of the United States Government, nor to commit force and violence as such; that we advocate the halting of force and violence; that we advocate that the majority of the American people today form a mighty people's coalition to halt fascism and prevent World War III.

We advocate Socialism—the common ownership and operation of our country's economy by the people and for the people, as

the only system of society that will abolish the ills that the working class and all oppressed peoples endure under capitalism. We intend to show that our day-to-day activities, all of them, on all issues, are part and parcel of our fight for Socialism. We intend to show that we Communists believe that Socialism will be achieved when (1) the majority of the people in this country grow sick and tired of living under the old system; and (2) when the majority of the people are willing to take that path towards Socialism through whatever form they find necessary to bring about its realization.

We will show that the Marxists in this country foresee the possibility of a path to achieve working class power in this country which will be in keeping with the specific national conditions in our country and the changed conditions in the world.

We will show that we Communists have advocated that working class power can be achieved only through a coalition of workers and their allies representing a majority of the people, headed by the working class and its political party, the Communist Party. We have advocated that such a people's coalition headed by the working class can be powerful enough to make possible a peaceful advance to Socialism.

We Communists know, and the history of our country has demonstrated, that the entrenched men of wealth resist the true will of the people. But always the people win out in the end. Whatever the outcome of this trial, the cause which I and my co-defendants defend in this courtroom will some day be taken up by the millions of ordinary men and women, Negro and white, and will become a victorious cause.

But today, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, the issue is not Socialism. The issue today is peace and democracy, to prevent World War III and the advent of fascism in our land. It is precisely because we are consistent advocates of peace and democracy that we stand in the dock today.

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battles for democracy, and they deserve the best that this country has to offer." Are prison sentences the best we have to offer? If patriots such as these go to jail, is it not our duty to examine those who put them behind bars?

WHO ARE THE PROSECUTORS?

MOST typical, most revealing, of the prosecutors is United States Attorney Edward C. Boyle, of Pittsburgh, responsible for the indictment of Steve Nelson and five others in the Steel City. Recently Boyle walked into the Pittsburgh federal court and coolly requested the federal judge to drop a suit of \$100,000,000 against United States Steel, the biggest trust in the land, J. P. Morgan's greatest corporation. The suit had been brought by the Roosevelt administration. The corporation had been caught bare-handed manufacturing faulty steel used in the hulls of merchant ships laden with crucial cargoes during World War II. Ships had sunk mysteriously, lives were lost, hundreds of millions in vitally required warstuffs

went to the bottom. Official inquiry traced the disasters to rotten steel. The corporation *knew* the steel was faulty. Clerks, foremen, metallurgists, even President Benjamin Fairless, confronted with irrefutable evidence, confessed faking the records. Prosecutor Boyle's request to drop the suit ("Orders from Washington" he said) was promptly conceded. The U. S. attorney could now spend his time happily prosecuting real Americans for their ideas of peace and brotherhood.

Now let us take a look at Boyle's immediate superior, ex-Attorney General McGrath, who executed the Smith Act indictments in a frenzy of energy. His real purpose appears to be an attempt to divert your attention from the truth about him. He is, as official inquiry proves, the hero whose crooked deals in Rhode

Island enabled him to evade paying millions of dollars in taxes since the war. The evidence is stacked in the files of the Senate Interstate and Commerce Committee which investigated McGrath's textile operations in 1948. This was



also the official—in charge of the nation's justice, if you please—who is up to his expensive neck in shakedown scandals. He was the boss of dubious characters like Theron Lamar Caudle, assistant U. S. Attorney General. McGrath admitted knowing there were charges of a \$500,000 shakedown racket that involved the Justice and Internal Revenue departments, but he made no move to sift these charges or to initiate prosecution. But when it came to Smith Act prosecutions he moved eagerly enough.

And who was McGrath's boss? President Truman, whose Democratic Missouri gang fully rivals the Republican Ohio gang in corruption.

These are the prosecutors: contrast their record with that of the defendants.

IS WORLD CONQUEST THE REASON?

Now why are these crooked prosecutors moving heaven and earth to put men like the incorruptible veterans in prison today? The reasons are not hard to unearth. The Gov-

lence." He said this after the Chicago Tribune had attacked the Army for issuing commissions to veterans of the Lincoln Brigade—commissions which enabled them to undertake some of the most dangerous missions of the war. Nor was Bissell the only one to recognize publicly the contributions of Lincoln veterans. John I. McCloy, then Assistant Secretary of War, also testified before the subcommittee. Rep. Leslie C. Arends, Illinois Republican and American Legionnaire, asked McCloy: "Is it possible that an exceptional soldier may turn out to be a Communist?" McCloy's reply referred to that magnificent hero of the Pacific, known as a "one-man army"—Captain Herman Bottcher, veteran of the Lincoln Brigade. Without mentioning Bottcher's name, McCloy said: "Take the case of a chap suspected of being a member of the Communist Party. He went to the South Pacific, there he was promoted to sergeant, then made a captain in the field. He was wounded, decorated, and killed in action at Leyte."

Such are the men of the Lincoln Brigade, such are the deeds that result from their ideas. About them Mr. Ickes said: "In the last decade they have been in the forefront of all the

war. He goes on trial soon under the Smith Act, facing five years in jail.

The four are among the many Communist leaders arrested in the national dragnet under a law which requires no "overt act." Merely the fact that they hold what the Government considers dangerous ideas caused their arrest. The indictment charges that they conspired "to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence." They deny this Hitler-style charge, and Supreme Court Justice Murphy's ruling in 1943 upheld their denial.

LET THE RECORD SPEAK

IT is true, however, that these men are ready for every sacrifice, whether it be their liberty or their life, to defend their country. The brass-hats attested to that when Major General Bissell, then head of Army Intelligence, said, testifying before the House Military Affairs Committee in March 1945: "The army's files show the loyalty of each of these officers . . . These officers have shown by their deeds that they are upholding the U. S. by force and vio-



ernment, the Smith Act legislators, are acting on behalf of powerful financial interests who have determined on war for world domination. They have adopted Hitler's dream of World Conquest, and have snatched the country like a band of pirates taking over a ship. Scratch practically any high-placed official in Washington these days and you will uncover a Wall Street banker "on leave" to run your Government: C. E. Wilson of General Electric heads the war mobilization agencies (and GE's dividends soar to the highest point in history); William Averell Harriman, of the railroad and stock exchange dynasty, partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman and Co., is ambassador plenipotentiary to the world with the final say on who gets your billions (and his firms reap the greatest profits of all time); James Forrestal of Dillon, Read and Co., is succeeded by Robert A. Lovett, of Brown Brothers, Harriman and Co.; John Foster Dulles, long ago exposed as the Wall Street lawyer for Nazi monopolies like I. G. Farben, molds Far East-

ern policy: the camera eye caught him in the trenches on the 38th parallel a few days before the Korean fighting broke out. Republican and Democratic officials alike are the double-talking Charley McCarthys for the imperialist trusts.

Bent on World War III, these mongers of death must extinguish any opposition to war: stifle the voices of those who stand for peace and know how it can be achieved. Gates, Nelson, Thompson, Weissman, men like them, have already proved that they knew how: the war profiteers are determined not to allow them to prove it again. Hence these arrests. Not guilty of any crimes, their ideas become grounds to silence them. And that is a principal lesson for 150,000,000 Americans: if these four, and their co-defendants, are railroaded, then the skids are greased for hundreds of thousands, for millions. The actual concentration camps, as you know, are already built by virtue of the McCarran Act; the Dachau-like barracks are being readied for mass-arrests—if you will allow it.

ceive a 20 years sentence on that charge. His sedition trial will be long remembered in American history. Nelson—so ill that he had to grasp the court-rail for support—threatened by gunmen—unable to hire a single Pittsburgh lawyer—so defended himself in the courtroom that he exposed his accusers as unprincipled finks by his massive moral courage and remarkable skill.

Robert Thompson, Captain of the volunteers in Spain, wounded twice there, a working-class leader since his early youth in Oregon and Ohio, is a veteran of the Pacific in World War II. General Clark Eichelberger pinned the Distinguished Service Cross on him for service to his country "above and beyond the call of duty." Thompson's heroic deeds sprang from his ideas. Today he has been sentenced to three years for these same ideas under the Smith Act.

Irving Weissman, twice wounded in Spain, gave three more years of his life in the service of democracy during World War II, holds six battle stars and is a veteran of three invasions, Salerno, Anzio and Southern France. He was a working-class leader before the war and among the miners of West Virginia since the

teers in Spain, who enlisted as a paratrooper in World War II, has received a five year penalty under the Smith Act and is now in Atlanta Penitentiary. He was an organizer among the steel workers of Ohio before he went to Spain. His "dangerous ideas" helped build the powerful United Steelworkers of America, CIO. At the time of his arrest he was editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker and Worker.



Steve Nelson, Lieutenant Colonel in Spain, where he was wounded, is a veteran leader of labor. His "dangerous ideas" helped win jobless insurance for America's working people through his pioneering work in the Unemployed Councils. He was a founder of that organization and headed it in Eastern Pennsylvania. He goes on trial shortly under the Smith Act. This man, known to hundreds of thousands of miners as incorruptible and self-sacrificing, beloved by the Spanish Republicans and his fellow veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, has been framed and convicted on a sedition charge brought by a Mussolini-lover in Pittsburgh and may re-

YOUR FUTURE IS AT STAKE!

MAKE no mistake: if these men are not freed, the bell tolls for you, too. They are indicted for ideas which were proven to be beneficial to the American people before World War II, during it, and since. Can you disagree with this credo written by Irving Weissman which appeared in the official narrative of his anti-aircraft outfit "The Rolling 451st" on its Second Anniversary Overseas:

"The Axis threat of enslavement of our country is receding. It is the combined efforts and sacrifices of scores of peoples which are forcing the stubborn beasts back. These are peoples with whom we must also build a lasting peace. Together with them, we will lay the foundations of a world in which every nation can flourish, free from the threat of aggression.

"The backward, ravaged lands where we have fought have driven home to us the need of strengthening our democracy. We who have combatted Nazi racism are coming back determined that the last vestiges of the hatred

of man for man, of discrimination on account of race, creed or color, shall find no place in our nation's life. We who have seen the German nation go bandit shall work with might and main for our country to develop along lines of full employment—and ever greater security for each of its citizens. At the cost of hundreds of thousands of heroic Americans, we have learned that racial hatred and economic distress degenerate a nation, while only the continued expansion of democracy strengthens it.

"These are our duties. We cannot do less for those who have fallen. It is our lightest debt to the future generations of our country."

Dangerous thoughts; indeed, to war-mongering conspirators in the counting-houses, the mammoth Wall Street concerns and their pawns in Government, the prosecutors of defendants who know World War III can be avoided and who offer a program to win the peace. And Americans are awakening to that profound truth as the dreadful casualty lists pile up in Korea.

Two years ago, when the machinery of the witch-hunt was getting up steam, only the warning voices of "the premature anti-fascists" were

vention of World War III. Hence their imprisonment has a bearing on the future of every man, woman and child of our nation's 150,000,000.

IDEAS ARE DANGEROUS

THESE same "wrong-headed" authorities (to use the most lenient term) are scourging the land with a heinous law—the Smith Act—to punish Americans for ideas—right ideas.

And what are dangerous thoughts these days? Today it is a crime to believe the world can avoid atomic war. It is an offense worth up to five years of your life to believe Labor can wrest a decent wage from monopolies reveling in unprecedented war-industry profits. It is a penal offense to believe our nation, our youth, our children, should be rescued from the corruption spreading beyond our Capitol like a plague of the Dark Ages.

These are the ideas of the Lincoln Brigade defendants. For these ideas—and *not for a single overt act*—they were indicted. These four, whom even Generals were obliged to praise yesterday are:

John Gates, Lieutenant Colonel of the volun-

said, in 1943: "Today in the State Department many of the reactionaries will admit they made a tragic mistake in boycotting the Spanish Loyalist government during the Spanish civil war . . . many diplomats now believe that had the dictators been crushed in their practice war in Spain, had the U. S. shown it meant to throw its weight firmly behind the democracies, the present war might never have happened . . . Believing that even at that time, in 1936 and 1937, several hundred American youngsters [there were 3000, J. N.] went to Spain, enlisted in the famous Abraham Lincoln Brigade, fought for the freely elected Spanish Republican government against Franco. Many of them were wounded, many were killed [1800—J.N.]. . ."

Now consider carefully what's being said here: Pearson, the others, admitted that the ideas of the Lincoln Brigade were right and beneficial to America, and that our Government's ideas were wrong.

Today, the men with the right ideas are being hauled to prison by authorities with the wrong ideas. Men whose ideas yesterday admittedly could have prevented World War II are today hounded for their ideas which project the pre-

heard, the men who were right when the Government said they were wrong. Today the Smith Act is the instrument to silence them—and anybody else who abhors war. The Smith Act is condemned by increasing multitudes today. The CIO in convention a few months ago spoke against the Smith Act. Labor leaders like Frank Rosenblum, Sec.-Treas. of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, Albert Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers, William Hood, Negro leader of Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers, the largest trade-union local in the world, and countless others in labor and elsewhere have called for repeal of the Smith Act.

The Negro people especially, that fifteen million of our population who suffer most grievously of all, are fighters against the Smith Act, for they recognize that its punishment of "advocacy" imperils their own struggle for liberation. They have not forgotten that many Negro workers fought in Spain at the side of Nelson, Gates, Thompson, Weissman. They recall the late Negro leader, Dean William Pickens, in the *Crisis*, October, 1938. "Yes, there are American Negro boys in Spain fighting with the Loyalist troops. All honor to these

boys. They are making history. Among them are some of the greatest heroes of the war . . . " Langston Hughes, the outstanding Negro writer, said: "Let us help them—for they have more than helped us." Paul Robeson wrote: "I am sure that the most fitting tribute to these courageous men would be to aid in continuing the patriotic work which they began in 1937 . . ." And the Chicago Defender, in an editorial July 23, 1938, said: "Thus the black men who are fighting in Spain are fighting in a remote outpost to keep the enemy from our shores . . . to save Loyalist Spain is to save civilization."

PROTECT PEACE— "A DANGEROUS IDEA"

THAT, in brief, is the record. Here is the truth the Government conceals.

That is why television would have revealed a triumphant look on Franco's face upon news that the four Lincoln Brigaders are prison-bound—if the authorities have their way. The fascist dictator wants no Americans free who will tell our nation the truth about his regime;

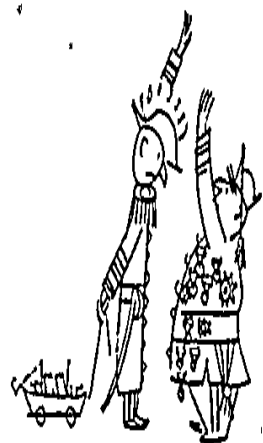
the proposed deal—that was doing business the Franco way.

For the four veterans are celebrated symbols of the profound loathing democratic Americans hold for fascism. These heroic Americans led the volunteers—about whom the late Harold Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, wrote: "They were among the first to see the menace of fascism and certainly among the first to offer their lives to halt this menace." But Ickes is gone and cannot fight on their behalf in the forthcoming trials which he called, in practically his final testament, "the most fateful trial in modern American history."

In the dock, or already convicted, are men whom Herbert L. Matthews, New York Times war-correspondent in Spain, called "American to the core." These were the patriots whom Vincent Sheean, noted author, compared to the Colonials at Valley Forge and of whom he wrote in 1939: "If the world has a future, they have preserved it."

Matthews and many others told the truth about the Lincoln Brigade when truth was not so dangerous as it is today. Even men like the radio broadcaster Drew Pearson, arch red-baiter, committed an act of candor when he

It is a pity that television never recorded that fateful day when the late Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, Pentagon spokesman, received the stiff-armed falange salute as he stepped into the medieval palace in Madrid recently to haggle with Dictator Francisco Franco. Americans should have witnessed that spectacle. We have a life-and-death stake in the gruesome deal discussed there:



bases for aggressive war—in return for the hundred million dollars that Congress is dangling before Franco, Hitler's World War II collaborator. The Spanish fuehrer is accustomed to such attentions; not so long ago he struck the same bargain with the Nazi fuehrer against us.

And there was another revolting moment you should have seen on the TV screen—the triumphant expression on Butcher Franco's face when he learned that four foremost leaders of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are victims today of the Smith thought-control act. That, now, was satisfactory down-payment on

his executions of labor leaders, his concentration camps crammed with heroic democrats, his fascist ban on all freedoms, of thought, of assembly, of religion. Only recently the New York Times was obliged to print a story revealing the persecution of Protestants by a gang of Franco's strong-arm vigilantes who raided a church, slugged the pastor and burned the prayer books and the Bible. Franco's Spain is a graveyard of liberties—the rights of Catholic and Protestant alike lie under the tombstone of the Falange.

The Pentagon, the State Department and the President, trafficking with Franco, are the prosecutors of Americans who opposed his force and violence and volunteered to prevent his way of life from becoming the law of our land. But today the Smith Act could well be labelled "Made in Franco Spain." And if you oppose the Dictator's ideas, if you are against bargaining with Franco for bases to explode atomic war, then your course is clear. Your job is to defend our democracy and to prevent atomic war—these are the "dangerous ideas" of the Lincoln Brigade. Therefore you must heed Langston Hughes' plea: "Let us help them—for they have more than helped us."

Amnesty for John Gates, Robert
Thompson and other victims of
the Smith Act!

Quash the indictments against
Steve Nelson, Irving Weissman
and all Smith Act victims!

Reverse the "sedition" conviction
against Steve Nelson in the
State of Pennsylvania!

No Deals with Franco!

Free Spanish strike leaders facing
death and imprisonment in
Franco Spain!

Support the Committee to Defend
Lincoln Veterans!

A Strange American Story

The generals of our Army tell us that the Distinguished Service Cross is a supreme honor given solely to patriots whose services were "above and beyond the call of duty" and who were prepared to die for our country. Robert Thompson, an American G.I., received that award on the fateful field of battle at New Guinea in the Pacific. Today he has been condemned as a criminal and sentenced to the federal penitentiary for three years. Why is yesterday's hero regarded by our governing bodies as today's outlaw?

The truth strikes at the heart of the nation's tragic dilemma and demands the most thoughtful study of every citizen. Your fate, ours, the country's future, is involved in the fate of Thompson and others like him, as you will see in this pamphlet. Here is the strange American story.

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for

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Daniel Groden, Secretary-Treasurer
Committee to Defend Lincoln Veterans
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

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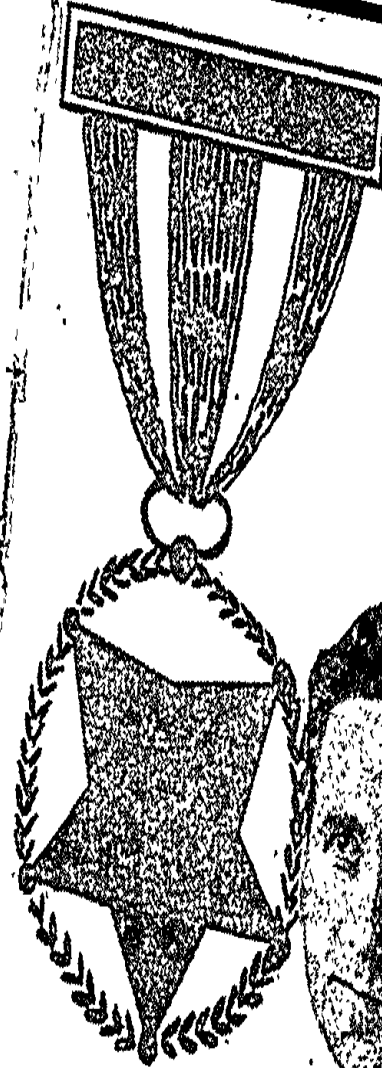
About the Lincoln Brigade

Three thousand Americans fought on the side of the Spanish Republican Government against Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. Eighteen hundred were killed in action.

More than half of those who returned were wounded at least once.

With the exception of those physically disabled due to wounds received in Spain, the overwhelming majority of the Lincoln Brigade served honorably in the United States Armed Forces and Merchant Marine. Many died heroically in the continuing fight against fascism.

FOR
VALOR
IN
BATTLE



By
JOSEPH
NORTH

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